

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 9.]

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6TH, 1840.

[PRICE THREEPENCE.]

LIVERPOOL ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

REPORT PRESENTED AT THE PUBLIC MEETING, APRIL 16TH, 1840.

A CONSIDERABLE period has elapsed since the members of the Liverpool Anti-slavery Society were convened. During that interval, the committee, to whom the management of its affairs has been consigned, have not been inactive spectators of the iniquities still perpetrated in the systems of slavery and the slave-trade; nor have they been backward in upholding those efforts which have been contemplated for their extinction.

Since the last meeting of this society, the friends of humanity and truth have been called to mourn the loss of an advocate who had ever stood nobly forth to their guidance and their aid. Closing a life of usefulness and honour in the enjoyment of the consolations of Christ, the esteemed James Cropper entered his rest on the 26th of February last. The interment of his mortal remains took place in the ground attached to the Friends' meeting-house, on Tuesday the 3rd of March, when the greater part of the committee joined the funeral procession, immediately after his sorrowing relatives. When they next met, (on the 26th of March,) they unanimously resolved:—

"That this committee, bowing with humble submission to that afflictive dispensation of Divine providence, which has removed from his labours their esteemed president, James Cropper, Esq., desire to express their deep sympathy with his bereaved family; to testify their grateful sense of the services rendered by him, in various ways, to the cause of justice, humanity, and religion; but especially (as one of the earliest movers in the anti-slavery enterprise) in defence of the rights of the negro; and to record their veneration for the memory of so excellent a man—so distinguished a philanthropist—so devoted a christian."

To occupy the post thus vacated, the committee at once elected John Cropper, Esq., junior, their president; associating with him, as vice-president, Thomas Blackburn, Esq.

Since the public meeting of the inhabitants of this borough, convened in pursuance of the requisition of a large number of the friends of this society by the worshipful the Mayor, William Rathbone, Esq., on the 20th of April, 1838, the most momentous events have transpired in connexion with the advance of the liberties of the coloured race.

While the government and the legislature of this country were hovering over the provisions of the unsatisfactory bill introduced by the Right Honorable Sir George Grey, for the purpose of modifying the system of apprenticeship, the colonial assemblies and councils were seriously considering the necessity of prompt and final emancipation. In the months of May and June acts were passed to that effect; whereby in Barbados the apprenticed population were liberated on the 26th of June: in the other West India colonies on the 1st of August: and, at the Cape of Good Hope on the 1st of December. The unrelenting Mauritians refused to come to that determination, and it required a royal ordinance to secure this consummation, which took effect on the 31st of March following.

This blessed work was accomplished by the powerful moral influence of British Anti-slavery bodies on the minds of the West Indian legislators; bringing them to the speedy concession of what was openly denied in the high places of this land. Contemplating these results, realized in a manner so unexpected, the servants of Jehovah have reverently adored his sovereign interposition—bowing their heads, and worshipping at his feet, they have ascribed unto him the glory due unto his name. "What hath God wrought!"

When the eventful day of release arrived, it was spent by the freedmen in no uproar, or dissipation, or violence; but as a day of solemn religious festival, "holy unto the Lord;" and by their advocates at home, as a day of sacred triumph. In this town a public dinner was given on the occasion; when William Rathbone, the mayor, presided, attended by members of the council, ministers of religion, representatives of other kindred institutions, and by a numerous assemblage of the members of this society.

The continued endeavours to oppress and injure the emancipated, soon demonstrated the necessity of renewed efforts to preserve and consolidate their rights—and to extend those rights to all their sable kindred throughout the earth. Accordingly on the 17th and 18th of April, 1839, "The British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society" was formed in London, and thus declared its constitution and plan:

"That the objects of this Society be the universal extinction of slavery and the slave-trade, and the protection of the rights and interests of the enfranchised population in the British possessions, and of all persons captured as slaves.

"That the following be the fundamental principles of the Society:

"That so long as slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings:—

"That the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means that are of a moral, religious, and pacific character: and,

"That no measures be resorted to by this Society, in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles.

"That the following be among the means to be employed by this society:—

"To circulate, both at home and abroad, accurate information on the enormities of the slave-trade and slavery; to furnish evidence to the inhabitants of slave holding countries, not only of the practicability, but of the pecuniary advantage of free labour; to diffuse authentic intelligence respecting the results of emancipation in Hayti, the British colonies, and elsewhere; to open a correspondence with abolitionists in France, America, and other countries; and to encourage them in the prosecution of their objects, by all methods consistent with the principles of this society.

"To recommend the use of free-grown produce, as far as practicable, in preference to slave-grown, and to promote the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour.

"To obtain the universal recognition of the principle, that the slave, of whatever clime or colour, entering any portion of the British dominions shall be free, the same as upon the shores of the United Kingdom, and to carry this principle into full and complete effect.

"To recommend, that every suitable opportunity be embraced for evincing in our intercourse with slave-holders and their apologists, our abhorrence of the system which they uphold, and our sense of its utter incompatibility with the spirit of the christian religion."

The triumph which the British people were honoured with consummating,—and the re-formation of the anti-slavery body for these purposes, has reflected its influence over European and American countries; and, while it has quickened the energies and cheered the hearts of the friends of freedom, it has no less excited the jealousy and the animosity of the guilty oppressors.

In a tour on the continent, George William Alexander, Esq., the indefatigable treasurer of the central society, availed himself of every opportunity of vindicating and enforcing the rights of the African. A deputation, in which Messrs. Scoble and White-horne were associated with him, visited the French Anti-slavery society, whose committee includes some of the most distinguished statesmen in that land, and submitted to them the results of the change in the British plantations. Messrs. Alexander and White-horne further proceeded on the same errand to Holland.

These results have also been brought under the notice of the American citizens by John Scoble, Esq., and by Sir Lionel Smith, the late governor of Jamaica, whose dignified, independent, and righteous conduct of the government of that island entitles him to the most grateful acknowledgments of the negroes and their friends. These testimonies have tended to the great encouragement and invigoration of the persecuted but faithful trans-atlantic abolitionists.

The British public have long been in possession of the interesting facts which a full investigation of the present state of affairs has brought to light, and which justify the allegations against the inexpediency of the apprenticeship, while they place the propriety of immediate emancipation beyond doubt.

The most impartial and authentic accounts prove, that where the liberated have been equitably and humanely treated, they have (with very few exceptions) been willing and faithful in the service of their employers; and that where a contrary disposition has been manifested, it may be traced to the necessary resistance of attempted oppression, in the demand of exorbitant rent for their dwellings, or the offer of inadequate wages for their work; and in some instances to the annoying operation of both these causes.

When it is remembered that these contests have not been few—that men could not be constrained to toil beyond their inclination and strength—that women and children could no longer be driven, willing or unwilling, to the field—that in certain cases, seasons have been unpropitious, it is matter of surprise that the product has been so good as it is shewn to be.

Notwithstanding all the alarms of the most complaining community, it is satisfactory to know that the alleged depreciation of pro-

perty in British Guiana is the reverse of the fact; as appears from the despatch of Governor Light to the Marquis of Normanby.

Governor's Residence, 26 June, 1839.

"My Lord,—A perusal of the valuation of the under-mentioned estates since the 1st of August, will convince your lordship and her Majesty's government that emancipation has not diminished the prices of property, the best proof of the confidence in the steady prospects of the colony.

"Plantation Zelandia, on Walkenham, Essequibo; £42,000 was offered to the proprietor residing on the spot, was accepted; but the day following the proprietor begged to be permitted to recall his assent: 1839.

"Plantation Allness, Berbice, sold in 1839, for £28,000, its full value, undiminished by the emancipation of the labourers.

"Plantation Thomas, Demerara, sold seven or eight years ago for £9000; purchased since the emancipation for £20,000.

"Plantation Vrow Anna, Leguan island, Essequibo, sold in 1839, for £35,000, its full value, undiminished by the emancipation.

"Plantation, Aberdeen, Essequibo, sold for £20,000 in 1839, a larger price than was paid for it eight or nine years ago by the seller.

"Plantation Friendship, Demerara, cotton and plantains, sold in 1839, for a greater price than paid for it in 1833 or 1834.

"Plantation Windsor Forest, Demerara, for £42,000, the full value undiminished by emancipation.

"Plantation Profit, Demerara, sold for its full value undiminished by emancipation,

I have, &c.,

(signed) HENRY LIGHT."

(Vide Parliamentary Papers, part 1, 5, 523, 1839, page 317.)

If proof be required of the good disposition of the coloured people, it will be found in the government reports of the diminution of crime, and of the willingness to labour on fair terms. It is also evinced by the following interesting transaction:—Among the purchases that they have made of property is the estate called North Brook, in British Guiana. Sixty-three persons having bought this property, petitioned Governor Light to use his influence in obtaining permission to call it "Victoria." The estate comprehends 500 acres, and was jointly purchased by them for 10,000 dollars. They express their "firm determination, as a body, to continue to labour daily, as now, upon the several plantations where they are employed;" and their intention of erecting, in addition to their own cottages, "a school-house and church." They further request "the assistance of the crown land surveyor to measure out equal portions of the land, to prevent anything like the possibility of dispute."

"We would fain hand down to posterity (they remark in their petition to the governor) some token of our gratitude, and some memento of the emancipation which we have witnessed, partaken of, and enjoyed; and we conceive that we cannot do so more effectually, (certainly not more agreeably to our feelings,) than by being allowed to name our plantation after our good and gracious queen 'Victoria!' We, therefore humbly and earnestly pray that your Excellency will be pleased to represent our wishes to her Majesty, in such manner as your Excellency may deem most likely to propitiate her Majesty and obtain her royal consent."

Such is the true character and conduct of the men who were trampled down as an inferior race; who were declared to be alike ignorant of the uses of freedom and of the rights of property; and of whom it was falsely predicted, that their first free acts would be recorded on the page of rebellion, desolation, and massacre.

Before the glorious change was commenced, no small clamour was raised for additional labourers; and various schemes of immigration were proposed. To these the most anxious and vigilant attention has been directed, and must be continued.

Concerning the condition of the Hill Coolies in British Guiana, the fears that were entertained have been too fully realized. The fraudulent promises, or violent kidnapping, by which they were procured in India; the rigour and the suffering which they had to endure through the middle passage; the severe exactions; the cruel punishments; the disease and mortality that have befallen them in the house of bondage, furnish a narrative which, with all its memorials of atrocity, has been already before the tribunal of public opinion, and which has passed uncontroverted under the close scrutiny of colonial investigation.

It is certain that to 385 males, landed in Demerara, there were only twenty-two females, (seven of whom were believed to be under eleven years of age,) and it is no less certain, that the enterprising speculator deliberately calculated that the proportion of one woman to nine or ten men was enough. In little more than eight months, out of 419 thirty-eight died, and seventy were generally on the sick list, exhibiting the most loathsome spectacles, resulting either from inhuman punishment, physical neglect, or protracted labour to which they were incompetent.

Such was the result of official inquiry, that the late colonial secretary, the Marquis of Normanby, in a despatch of the 15th of August, 1839, declared, "that more than enough had already passed to render her Majesty's government decidedly hostile to every such project, and that the laws now in force in different presidencies would effectually prevent its execution."

Although these details have been furnished with the utmost clearness and minuteness, an attempt has been made to re-open the traffic with the Mauritius. That colony, by its daring defiance of British law, by its perverse hostility to every measure of justice and mercy, has proved itself the most unworthy to be trusted with

the working-out of such an expedient, and yet it is the first to claim the attention of the British government and legislature.

During the former traffic it appears, that from the 1st of August, 1834, to the 25th of August, 1838, there were received into the island from Calcutta, Cochin, Pondicherry, and Rajah-mundy, 18,794 men, 205 women, 51 children, in all 19,050 persons. On the showing of the planters themselves, it is manifest that a much larger number was obtained, some of them estimating it about 30,000, others 45,000.

In consequence of the excitement produced by the exposure of this nefarious system, its further prosecution was suspended. The despatches of the governor-general of India, in which he notified his prohibition, crossed those which were conveying to him orders to that effect.

Removed from this means of gratifying their cupidity, the Mauritians induced the Governor to seek the renewal of the importation, under the authority of her Majesty's ministers; meanwhile, they obtained from him permission to introduce labourers from Madagascar. The Asiatic Journal for January last furnished the information, that "Sir William Nicolay had strongly recommended to her Majesty's ministers to allow the importation of Coolies into the Mauritius; and pending their decision, had allowed free labourers to be introduced from Madagascar, where every labourer is the slave of some chief." In this manner they might hereafter do under licence, what heretofore they had done clandestinely.

In the face of these facts, however, the present secretary for the colonies, Lord John Russell, has proposed to withdraw the restrictions on the Coolie trade, as regards that colony. This was first attempted by a mere intimation of his purpose, without troubling the house further in the matter; but subsequently, by seeking its tacit sanction while extending the "Colonial Passengers' Bill" to the island of Mauritius.

Convinced that whatever care may be exercised in preparing the contracts for the emigrants, deception and compulsion in their deportation will not be prevented; that whatever theoretic prescriptions may regulate the middle passage, its miseries will still actually continue; that whatever protective ordinances may be issued to the island of their doom, real and substantial justice will never be obtained; the committee of the Liverpool Anti-Slavery Society entrusted to the hands of Thomas Thorneley, Esq., M.P., a petition, signed on their behalf by the president, imploring the House of Commons not to sanction, in the slightest degree, any relaxation of the present restrictions upon the importation of the Hill Coolies from Hindostan.

The further consideration of the subject will be resumed on the 15th of May, and it is incumbent on every lover of equity and religion to give such decided expression of hostility as shall secure its immediate rejection. For if it be allowed, sub silentio, to obtain the countenance of the House, it can never afterwards be refused with good reason to other colonies; and then, while Britain with one hand demolishes the ancient system of African slavery, she will with the other establish in its stead a new form of Asiatic slavery, seeking speedily in deeds of darkness to rival its infamous predecessor.

In the survey of "the dark places of the earth that are full of the habitations of cruelty," the heart of the Christian sickens and bleeds.

The number of slaves in the Dutch possessions is not exactly ascertained. In Surinam alone there are from 50,000 to 60,000, and, as the excess of deaths over births is annually 3 per cent, there must be a constant purchase of two Africans to every one born in the colony to meet the demand.

In Cuba, the greatest rendezvous of pirates and slavers in the world, there were computed by consul Tolmé to be at the very least 360,000 bondsmen, at the close of the year 1838. It is affirmed by an eye-witness, (Dr. Madden) that the system of slavery there exerts a power of iniquity gigantic and appalling, to which there is no parallel. He states, "that British subjects, now that slavery is put down in our colonies, are embarking their means with impunity in slave properties in Cuba, and buying their slaves of necessity in the slave market; for there is no natural increase of the slave population in Cuba, but a terrible decrease by deaths, which at the ordinary mortality on the sugar plantations, would sweep away the race in slavery in ten years; and according to Humboldt's calculation in much less, for he states this mortality to vary from ten to eighteen per cent. per annum." In the trade thus necessitated no small amount of British capital is invested.

As it respects Brazil, it is notorious that the British people are indirectly the abettors of slavery; and that the means employed to rescue the living cargoes of slave vessels have supplied the victims by which that system is upheld. This will appear from the testimony of an accurate observer, who is in correspondence with a member of the committee. Writing from Rio de Janeiro, August 23rd, 1839, he says, "you will be not a little surprised and astonished to hear, that the slave-trade here is supported and carried on mainly by English capital. The Portuguese are generally too poor to fit out a vessel themselves, and they therefore apply to the English, who lend them money at an enormous rate of interest, in the expectation of its being paid out of the immense profits which are realized by a successful expedition. Nor is this the only way in which they are involved in the guilt of upholding and continuing slavery. They do so, by receiving and disposing of goods which are intended for the purpose of being bartered for negroes. These articles consist of coarse

clothes, tools, and articles of Birmingham manufacture, which are received from England, sold to the dealers here, and sent regularly to the coast to be exchanged for human flesh and blood. Until lately there was only one house in Rio which refused to accept consignments of these goods, or to have anything to do with them." Again, from Rio de Janeiro, September 23rd, 1839; "I see there has been a statement in the English papers recently, to the effect that the negroes in the slavers captured by our cruisers, and brought into Rio, are not set at liberty on coming here; but are apprenticed for a term of eight years, during which time they are treated in all respects as slaves, and frequently at the end of that time, continue slaves still. I have made inquiries as to this matter, in such quarters as would certainly afford me correct information, and I can confirm the statement fully. The system practiced is this:—the negroes are apprenticed to persons who pay £5, and engage to support them in return for their labour for eight years, and to set them free at the end of that period. Of course, a register is kept by our commissioners of the apprentices; but you may easily suppose, that no system can be devised which shall enable them to identify the apprentices after the lapse of years. Well, by and by, before the eight years expire, there comes in a certificate of the death of the apprentice. If the commissioners inquire, they find that a negro has certainly died on the estate from which they receive the certificate; and it is impossible to prove that it was not the apprenticed negro. This is almost invariable. No negro survives his apprenticeship to all appearance. The consul told me that he did not believe one who had been apprenticed, was ever emancipated; and though this seems too sweeping, the answers to my inquiries convince me that it is not very far from the truth. Thus our cruisers really do harm rather than good: for, in the few cases in which it is impossible to practice the fraud I have mentioned, the proprietor, not having sufficient interest in the negro, overworks and underfeeds him, to get all that he can in the time allowed, and in these instances the certificate of death is often too correct.

The most speedy and vigorous measures are demanded for the removal of a means of cruelty and injustice, such as is by this and by other testimony exposed.

The revolted province of Texas, at the instigation of some of the southern states of America, is striving hard for a lofty pre-eminence in slavery and the slave-trade. Having repeatedly failed to obtain, either by negotiation or fraud, a hold upon that territory, the slave-holders have sent into it multitudes of men of desperate characters and fortunes, by whom it has been at length wrested from Mexico. By impartial journals in the United States they are denounced as monsters of wickedness. The *Arkansas Advocate*, a southern paper, affirms, "we are very certain that the vicissitudes of fortune have transformed a multitude of cut-throats, desperadoes, outlaws, and criminals, into Texian heroes and statesmen." These truly are fit champions of the abominations of slavery, whose contest with the Mexican republic issued in the declaration of their boasted independency, in consequence of the abolition of the slave-trade in 1824, and of slavery in 1829, by that country; and the recognition of whose independency is now sought from the great empires of the earth. These criminal intentions have been embodied in a form too authoritative to be mistaken. On their statute book it is recorded, that "all persons of colour, who were slaves for life previous to their emigration to Texas, and who are now held in bondage, shall remain in the like state of servitude; provided the said slave shall be the bona fide property of the person so holding slaves as aforesaid. Congress shall pass no laws to prohibit emigrants from the United States of America from bringing their slaves into the republic with them, and holding them on the same terms by which such slaves were held in the United States; nor shall congress have the power to emancipate slaves; nor shall any slave-holder be allowed to emancipate his or her slaves without the consent of congress, unless he or she shall send his or her slave or slaves without the limits of the republic. No free person of African descent, either in whole or in part, shall be permitted to reside permanently in the republic without the consent of congress; and the importation or admission of Africans or negroes into this republic, excepting from the United States of America, is for ever prohibited, and declared to be piracy." With this declaration they cast themselves upon the support and protection of the United States, and guarantee to the republican slave breeders the monopoly of a market, to which they look with greediness as abundantly profitable.

The British government, alive to the impending evil, have righteously and resolutely refused to acknowledge the independence of a state established in injustice, peopled by the infamous, and devoted to slavery.

The severities of American tyranny can scarcely be conceived. The atrocities of the system have in some measure been dragged to light; and ere long the tremendous picture must be fully exhibited.

It is matter of the most deliberate and accurate calculation, that a negro in certain labour will be worn out in a given time, and that a certain amount of profit must be ground out of him. If that profit be greater by prolonged durance, he is so tasked as to lengthen his wretched existence; but, if the profit of a more speedy exhaustion of his energies be the greater, he is quickly hurried to the grave. By his owner he is no more regarded than as an animated piece of machinery. The unrevealed horrors of a system, of which this is the fundamental principle, it is impossible

for the most vivid fancy to imagine. "I was told confidentially and from excellent authority," says Dr. Andrew Reed, "that recently, at a meeting of the planters in South Carolina, the question was seriously discussed; whether the slave is more profitable to the owner if well fed, well clothed, and worked lightly, or, if made the most of at once, and exhausted in some eight years. The decision was in favour of the last alternative."—[Vide Reed and Matherson's narrative of a visit to the American churches; 2nd edition, vol. ii. p. 187. 1836.] In this merciless and ungodly work christians are implicated; and by it about 3,000,000 of immortal beings, one-sixth of the entire population of the United States, are plundered of their personal rights, and generations are murdered by calculation and rule. Their value as cattle, or as chattels, was declared unblushingly by Henry Clay, in the senate chamber of congress, to be 1200 millions of dollars.

The progress of the abolition movement cannot be hindered, persecuted and martyred though its advocates may be. For a time they were scorned, till in the years 1833 and 1834 they were brought into a position of prominence. The young men rallied round the standard of freedom; the declaration of independence was their motto, and the commandments of God were their authority. The Oberlin Institute for affording equal education to all classes, abolishing the distinctions of colour, was formed. The people of the south were enraged, and the cities of the north were in commotion. Acts of violence were committed by the populace, and gross outrages even upon christian females were perpetrated by "gentlemen of property and standing." Abolitionist petitions were ordered to lie on the table of the legislature unread; and the excellent John Quincy Adams was there attacked with virulent slander and ridicule. The orthodox clergy who might have been engaged in a more god-like enterprise, determined to take ground in opposition to the abolitionists: The freedom of the press was invaded, and the noble Lovejoy fell a sacrifice in asserting its right, before the rifles of the infuriated mob.

Is there not a God that judgeth in the earth? Still the advance of the herald of liberty continues; every year augments their strength, confirms their resolution, vindicates their integrity, extends their principles, and exalts their hope. Let British christians aid them by their sympathy and their prayers!

The French nation are engaged in the consideration of the rights of the slaves in their own colonies, and their Anti-slavery institutions are becoming more energetic and efficient. It is to be hoped that ere long they will be permitted to rejoice over the liberation of the 250,000 human beings who are still in bondage under their rule.

In the British possessions in India a system of oppression still exists, of no mitigated or ordinary character. It appears from the evidence before parliament, that in Malabar and Canara "the labourer is the personal slave of the proprietor, and is sold or mortgaged by him independently of his lands;" while in Tamul he is "the slave rather of the land than its owner; and is seldom sold or mortgaged, except along with the land to which he is attached." "It does not appear to be accurately settled to whom the child of a slave belongs. The people who keep slaves most likely find it cheaper to buy slaves than to rear them; and the offspring, when left to their parents' charge, who have barely sufficient to support themselves, die of absolute starvation." Mr. Greene, in a report from Malabar, remarks, "the slave in the interior is a wretched, half-starved, diminutive creature, stunted in his food, and exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, whose state demands that commiseration and melioration which may be confidently expected from the British government." Another authority affirms, that the restrictions imposed "confine the slaves to a condition scarcely superior to that of the cattle which they follow at the plough." The following are the numbers of the slaves in British India, as nearly as can be ascertained from the official papers:—

Canara, Malabar, Coorg, Wynaud, Cochin, } and Travancore, - - - - - }	400,000
Tinnevely - - - - -	324,000
Trickenopoly - - - - -	10,000
Arcoot, South division - - - - -	3,000
" North " - - - - -	17,000
Southern Concan - - - - -	2,000
Surat - - - - -	2,000
Ceylon - - - - -	27,397
Assam - - - - -	11,300
Penang - - - - -	3,000
Total - - - - -	800,297

The friends of man and the servants of God must not rest until these strong holds of iniquity in British territories be overthrown; until, in every quarter of the British dominions, there be no toleration to the slave-holder, and no fetters for the slave.

So long as this accumulated demand for unrequited and exacted toil continues, will the enormities of the slave trade be perpetuated.

When that abominable traffic was abolished by Great Britain, there were annually victimized by it 72,000 human beings. In spite of treaties and of preventive and protective services, it has progressively increased. On the authority of Lord John Russell it appears that the lowest estimate now exceeds 100,000. Buxton computes it, with every reasonable allowance and deduction, to be, at the present time:

By professing christian countries	150,000
By Mohammedans	50,000
Total annually	200,000

Abundant data are furnished to show that this falls immeasurably short of the full amount of the mischief; and that there are to be added to the numbers landed in the fields of slavery, multitudes who fall a prey to death, in the seizure, march, and detention, in the middle passage, and after landing.

1. There are landed	150,000
2. 25 per cent perish in the passage	37,500

3. 100 per cent perish in the seizure, march and detention, before embarkation	187,500
--	---------

Annual sacrifice	375,000
----------------------------	---------

So with the Mohammedans.

1. In the seizure	50 per cent.
2. In the march	30 per cent.
3. In the seasoning	20 per cent.

100 per cent

This, added to the number who enter into full labour, 50,000, gives a total of 100,000.

The fearful account then stands thus.

Christian countries destroy annually the life & liberty of	375,000
Mohamedanism	100,000

Total	475,000
-----------------	---------

These human beings are plundered of all they hold dear, and remedilessly consigned, either to violent and terrible death, or to a servile estate of the most cruel and appalling kind.

The treaties so solemnly ratified to suppress this criminal commerce are set at naught; a foreign flag is lent, and the use of it sold with the connivance of the authorities, "to all the miscreants of every other nation in the world who may choose to engage in the base pursuit." This is the reward of thirty years negotiation. The Spanish treaty, according to the report of the commissioners in 1836, has led "only to an increased rate of premium out and home, with an augmented price of negroes."

The employment of armed cruisers and other modes of prevention has left the evil almost without check. Mr. Maclean, governor of Cape-Coast Castle, in a letter dated October 16, 1838, says, "My neighbour (as I may call him,) De Souza, at Whydah, still carries on an extensive slave-trade. Judging from the great number of vessels consigned to him, he must ship a vast number of slaves annually. He declares, and with truth, that all the slave treaties signed during the last twenty-five years have never caused him to export one slave fewer than he would have done otherwise." The correspondent whose testimony has before been cited, in a communication from Rio de Janeiro in September last, observes:—"The slave-trade is notoriously carried on actively here, for the government is compelled, if not inclined, to wink at it; so strong is the popular feeling on the subject. Within five miles of the spot from which I write there is a depot of fresh imported slaves; and but yesterday I was warned not to go very near it in my rides, lest its owners should recognise and molest me, as one of a people towards whom they bear (in consequence of the doings of our cruisers,) the bitterest animosity. Hardly a night passes in which cargoes of the poor wretches are not conveyed in boats up the bay. I cannot get any probable estimate of the number annually imported into this province, but from all I can learn it must be very great."

When this state of things is fairly taken into account, together with the extravagant profits of the slave-dealers and the growing demands of the slave-consumers, it will be manifest that little hope remains of destroying the trade, but in the destruction of the system of slavery; when the demand will cease, and the twin-monsters will fall to rise no more.

This hasty sketch affords but a very imperfect view of the diversified systems of thralldom under which millions of mankind groan in unrelieved agony. They know not where redemption is to be found; to them hope never comes; they are strangers to the eye of pity, and to the voice of consolation; and their pilgrimage is written in lamentation, and mourning, and woe.

But if all which they endure could be fully told, it would fail to exhibit the amazing amount of evil which is diffused among the perpetrators of these accumulated wrongs. Myriads of men become more defiled, debased, and embruted, by their contact with the inhuman and anti-christian work in which their hands are engaged, than the hapless victims of their malignant cupidity.

To rescue them from moral suicide, and their prey from the murderous grasp, is an enterprise worthy the devotion of every philanthropist, and of every christian; until there be no tyrant to depose, and no captive to free. Above all, it is incumbent on the religious communities of Britain to demand the removal of the sin which is still tolerated in their oriental possessions; and to protest against the compromise of British character, by the employment of British capital in the dominions and under the protection of foreign powers.

To give full expression to these sentiments, and to facilitate the accomplishment of these results, a general convention of the anti-

slavery representatives from all parts of the earth will shortly be held. Upon this august assembly the eyes of the enslavers and the enslaved will be riveted with no ordinary intenseness; and from it shall go forth the mandate before which the accursed demon of dark despotism shall flee. The arm of the Lord will awake—the sword, "sharpened to make a sore slaughter—furnished that it may glitter," shall be upheld, to return no more to its scabbard, till "righteousness be established," and the "oppressed go free," with the song of adoration. "Thanks be to God who giveth us the victory!"

HILL COOLIES—MAURITIUS.

THE motion on which Lord John Russell has given notice, that he will take the opinion of the House of Commons on the relaxation of the prohibition which at present exists, on the exportation of Coolies to Mauritius, stands for Friday, the 15th instant. It is, therefore, necessary that the friends of humanity should be on the alert, to prevent the scheme of the noble lord from being carried into effect. This may be done by numerous petitions against it, and by the different constituencies throughout the United Kingdom, addressing respectful, but decided letters to their representatives, on the subject, and by earnestly entreating them to be in their places when the discussion shall come on, and to use their influence, and if need be, their votes to defeat the project.

The noble lord in an admirable despatch to the governor of British Guiana, dated the 15th February, 1840, referring to the further importation of Coolies into that colony, so ardently desired by the planters, says:—"I confess I should be unwilling to adopt any measure to favour the transfer of labourers from British India to Guiana, after the failure of the former experiment. Admitting that the mortality of the Hill Coolies first sent may have been accidental, I am not prepared to encounter the responsibility of a measure which may lead to a dreadful loss of life on the one hand, or on the other, to a new system of slavery."

The Guiana immigration ordinance, which provided for the further importation of Coolies, native Africans, and others, into the colony, was disallowed during the period Lord Normanby held the seals of the colonial office. The Trinidad ordinance, also has been disallowed by the crown, in so far as it related to the import of labourers from Hindostan and Africa, since Lord John Russell has presided over that department; and it may be added, that both the noble secretaries have spoken in the most decided terms, in opposition to the earnest and oft repeated solicitations of the planters of these colonies, to secure these classes of labourers. It may be asked then, why the government intend to favour Mauritius? We are utterly at a loss to supply the answer. We know of no reason that can be given for it, which would not apply with greater force to Guiana and Trinidad, than to that colony.

It must be fresh in the recollection of the anti-slavery public of this country, that Mauritius was the last British colony to abandon the slave-trade, if indeed it were ever given up by that island; and the last to resist the wishes of the people and the government of this land, to terminate the apprenticeship system, the rigours of which in that colony were more terrible than those of slavery itself. One proof may be given: the quantity of food allowed the wretched apprentices was six pints of rye flour or rice, or seven pounds of biscuit, or a proportionate quantity of vegetables, and three pounds and a half salt fish weekly, not one-third of the quantity secured to the slaves of the Crown colonies by the order in council of 1832; and, to obtain the required amount of work from them, a most fearful amount of punishment was inflicted:—in twelve months, not less than 14,371 were punished, 7304 by the lash, on whom was inflicted the enormous amount of 135,124 lashes, and 7067 otherwise than by flogging, such as hard labour—penal gang in chains and collars—stocks, &c. &c. It will also be remembered that the planters of this colony stand charged with the introduction of upwards of 30,000 slaves, after the slave-trade had been declared felony by the laws of England, and that, notwithstanding, the most palpable proofs of their guilt and criminality, they were not only permitted to escape the punishment which their atrocious offences merited, but, when the compensation money was distributed among the various colonies, their claims were admitted, and to the last farthing paid. It will be further remembered, that no colony has so insulted the mother country, violated her laws, and bid defiance to her power, as Mauritius; and what must appear passing strange, until the recent appointment of Sir Lionel Smith, scarcely a man, with the exception of General Hall, has swayed the government, who has not violated his trust, shrunk from the performance of his duties, or basely yielded to the French faction, the executive power. One honest functionary after another has been displaced, the Jeremies have been thrust out to make way for the D'Epinays; and with scarcely a single exception, at the present moment, all the officers subordinate to the governor are the mere creatures of the pro-slavery party, which is made up, to use the language of Mr. Jeremie, "principally of the refuse of the French revolution," who entertain "a deadly hate of the principles, the manners, the power, the very name of Britain." The answer to the question proposed, why Mauritius is to be favoured, cannot be found in the humane character of its chief inhabitants, as planters, nor in their loyalty as subjects. On the blackest page in the annals of our colonies will be inscribed the history of Mauritius.

It is melancholy to reflect that previously to the prohibition on the export of Coolies having been issued by the governor-general of India, upwards of 40,000 had been introduced into that

colony, under circumstances the most infamous, the larger part leaving behind them wives and children, parents and friends, to suffer the most cruel privations or to perish with hunger in their native land. Those who went voluntarily were under the impression that they were going to the Company's "rabustie," or village, and that their employ would be "gardening," in return for which they were to have a sufficiency of food and clothing, besides the advantage of money wages. How were the miserable creatures deceived! They found that an island off the coast of Africa was their destination, and on their arrival there, that employments the most laborious were forced upon them, whilst their supplies of food and clothing were utterly insufficient for necessary purposes, and the money wages they were to receive were made to depend entirely upon the performance of the required amount of work. Anything more heartless and cruel than the treatment of these people can scarcely be imagined. It is sufficient, however to say that these things happened in Mauritius to account for the villanies and deceits practised.

If the experience of the past should be any guide for the future, then we can perceive the strongest possible reasons why the government should steadfastly refuse the proposition of the Mauritians, made through their representatives and agents Messrs. Irving & Barclay in this country. These gentlemen have the strongest possible reasons for the exertions they have made, and are still making to accomplish their purposes. In the *Cerneen*, a Mauritius paper, of the 21st December, 1839, the editor directed the attention of the public to the consideration of various schemes of immigration which were then current in the island, and after recommending the formation of a committee, who should "be charged with forming a project, and with afterwards transmitting it to our agents in London," adds, "but let it not have the power of doing anything without the concurrence and approval of our London agents." "Who can tell," says the editor, "that the latter have not already acted in our behalf? One of them has all his fortune at Mauritius, the others have twenty thousand tons of our sugar annually consigned to them. 'Where,' he asks in conclusion, 'can men be found who are more vitally interested in the question?' In the succeeding paper the editor gives the news which had just reached the colony, "that Mr. Irving and Mr. Barclay had already taken active steps with Lord Normanby, as well as with his successor Lord John Russell, in order to procure the abrogation of the order in council prohibiting the emigration of Coolies, and the enactment of a new law respecting vagrancy." In a subsequent part of the communication, it is added: "Mr. Irving had framed a memorial which he went, on the 14th September, to present in person to Lord John Russell, at his private residence in Windsor Park. The interview, we are informed, was long, and Lord John Russell appeared to listen with considerable interest to the representations of Mr. Irving, who insisted principally; 1st. Upon the abrogation of the order in council prohibiting the emigration of Coolies; 2ndly. Upon the necessity of a new law respecting vagrancy; and 3rdly. Upon the urgency of giving positive instructions to the stipendiary magistrates as to the line of conduct they are to pursue! Now the whole of the proposition of Mr. Irving amounts to this, that the government should rescind the orders in council of the 7th September, 1838, regulating contracts, and for the suppression of vagrancy, for the purpose of allowing the Mauritians to enter into contracts with the Coolies in India for a period of five years, and when they got them there, to bring them under the operation of a stringent vagrant law, which should subject them to heavy punishments for 'wandering abroad,' or being found loitering on the public highways, or whistling in the streets of Port Louis! And, it would appear, that the special justices are to be instructed 'as to the line of the conduct they are to pursue,' in other words they are to be coerced into subserviency to the will of the planters. We confess that we can scarcely trust ourselves to designate this monstrous proposition of Mr. Irving's, in language which shall at once indicate its true character, and his own daring; but knowing, as we do, that the order in council regulating contracts, is the only protection immigrants can have against the most shameful frauds, when applications of its wholesome provisions is confided to the care of an upright stipendiary magistracy, and that the existing vagrant law, is, in some of its enactments, even more stringent than it ought to be, we can conceive of nothing which deserves stronger censure, or more indignant reprobation than this audacious attempt to revive the system and practice of slavery.

On one of the points so strenuously urged by Mr. Irving on the attention of Lord John Russell, we are happy to say the noble lord has given his positive assurance that no change shall take place—the order in council regulating contracts is to remain in full force, and, of course the duties of the special justices under it will remain untouched. On another point—vagrancy, we trust the noble lord will be equally inflexible. The point gained by the Mauritians is the relaxation of the prohibition on the export of Coolies from British India; but we feel persuaded that a determined resistance on the part of the country to this most unwise and impolitic measure will lead to its defeat.

It is difficult to fix the period when Coolies were first introduced into Mauritius. The references to the subject in the parliamentary papers we have been enabled to consult are exceedingly scanty. We find, however, in a despatch to Lord Glenelg, dated 9th September, 1837, Sir W. Nicolay states, "the number of Indians who have arrived here at different times within three years amounts to 8690, including women and children." From this extract it would appear that the importation commenced

before the termination of negro slavery in that colony. The terms on which they were engaged may be seen from the copy of agreement with thirty-six dhangars and Bhoond Coolies, by Arbuthnot and Co., par. pap. no. 74—1838, from which we make the following extracts. "The pay of the natives shall be fixed at the rate of five rupees per month for each man," for "digging holes, weeding canes, or working in the sugar house, the quantity of daily labour required from each to be fixed by the manager of the property." Food allowed "for each man, per day, 2 lbs. rice, half-a-pound dhol, and 2 ounces salt, and some oil and tamarinds; and annually for each, four dhooties, one sheet, two blankets, one jacket, and two caps;" period of service, five years; and it was stipulated that one rupee per month should be deducted from their wages to form a fund, to provide them the means of return home after their contract was fulfilled. Subsequently to this period, we find the contracts less liberal, and the following may be quoted as the average of them: viz. wages, three to five rupees, per month, with one and a-half pounds rice, four ounces dhol, two to three ounces salt fish, one ounce ghee, half an ounce salt per diem, with deductions in some cases of as much as two rupees per month, to repay advances for the expenses of voyage to Mauritius, and for the purpose of forming a fund to pay for the return of the Coolies to India at the expiration of their terms of service. In all cases further deductions were made for absent and sick days. The clothing annually supplied, "eight yards of common cloth or linen, two handkerchiefs, or two dhooties, one jacket, and one red cap." The usual time of labour, from sun-rise to sun-set, with two hours relaxation for meals, except during crop time, which lasts about six months in the year, when they are required to work as many hours as may be necessary.

The nature of the laws under which these Coolies were placed may be gathered from the remarks of Lord Glenelg, in a despatch to Sir William Nicolay, dated 25th May, 1836, conveying to him the disallowance of an ordinance, "to conciliate the maintenance of good order, and the demands of industry," &c. His lordship says, "the design of the law might more accurately have been described as the substitution of some new coercion for that state of slavery which has been abolished; the effect of it, at least, is to establish a compulsory system, scarcely less rigid, and in some material respects even less equitable, than that of slavery itself." Had his lordship used stronger language to designate this most iniquitous law it would not have been inappropriate. For instance, labourers out of employ, or choosing to indulge themselves in temporary repose, might be adjudged to labour as convicts on the public works or on the plantations; and as Lord Glenelg states, "condemned without even the imputation of a fault to three years compulsory labour;" nay, his lordship goes further, and says that the operation of the law would be such as to inflict "compulsory labour for life on the labourers on the plantations to which they may be assigned by the police."

The disallowance of this and another ordinance of a similar evil tendency "excited," as we are informed by Sir W. Nicolay, "a considerable degree of alarm;" and he informs the government that petitions had been forwarded to him, soliciting permission to call a general meeting of the inhabitants for the purpose of drawing up a memorial "protesting against the disallowance." Instead of indignantly refusing to receive the petitions, which were in their nature seditious, inasmuch as they dared to call in question the prerogative of the crown, the governor expressed himself in reply to them in the following terms: "entertaining sentiments on the importance of that ordinance correspondent with your own, his Excellency yet feels obliged to withhold his sanction from a meeting to be convened for the avowed purpose of protesting against an act of his Majesty's, in the exercise of his royal prerogative." He then presumes to reason on the decision of his Majesty as having caused him the greatest disappointment, and ventures indirectly to censure the course which the home government had felt it to be its duty to pursue: he then adds, "under the peremptory instructions to make immediate announcement of the disallowance, it became his Excellency's duty to publish the fact, but his attention has ever since been occupied upon this important subject, in the hope of devising some means for accomplishing the objects contemplated by the enactment of ordinance, No. 16, without infringing upon the injunction conveyed by the secretary of state." Ought this man to have been allowed to hold office one moment after the government became aware of the course he had taken! Yet he was permitted to retain it sufficiently long to give his sanction to several most infamous laws in defiance of the peremptory orders of the crown; viz., a vagrant law (ord. No. 6, 1838) of the most oppressive character, which bears exclusively on the liberated negroes and the Coolies; and in order to give full effect to it, another ordinance was passed, appointing a body of rural police (*gardes champêtres*) from which every proprietor may have two men on his estate on condition of paying a certain sum per month! These police are to be armed and equipped as the ordinary policemen, to live on the plantations of the proprietors, and, in point of fact, to form part of their establishments, and to be entirely under their direction and control. It is provided also, that these "*gardes champêtres*" shall, whenever required, be concentrated on any given spot. With such a body of men, paid, fed, and directed by the planters, it is easy to conceive that the liberties of the negroes and Indians in Mauritius are narrowed within the smallest possible compass. We have, in past numbers, adverted to the existence of this and other laws, which had been recently transmitted home, and trust that the government has sent out the notification of their disallow-

ence to Mauritius by his Excellency, Sir Lionel Smith. The vagrant law was superseded by the order in council of the 7th Sept. 1838, but we have been assured, on authority direct from Mauritius, of a recent date, that the one referred to above, is still administered as the vagrant law of the colony.

We have adverted to these points to show that hitherto not the slightest confidence could be placed in the good faith of the colonists, nor in the wisdom of the legislative council, nor in the firmness of the executive; and yet Mauritius is to have more Coolies!

We look almost in vain through the parliamentary papers for a straightforward and honest statement of the general treatment of the Indian labourers. On this important point as well as on the state of the law, Lord Glenelg, in a despatch to Sir W. Nicolay dated 14th May, 1838 thus writes:—"It appears there is no law in force for regulating the duration of contracts of this nature," viz. with the Coolies, "for prescribing their terms, or for securing to the labourer, without the expensive and slow process of action at law, the faithful execution of these terms." "I also collect," adds his lordship, "that they are usually brought into the colony unaccompanied by females, thus aggravating the evils of the existing disproportion of the sexes; and finally, that it is apparent that your conclusions in favour of the present system rest upon the reports of the employers, and on those of the commissaries of quarters, who are, for the most part, if not wholly, engaged on their own account in the cultivation of land by the same or similar methods." In a subsequent despatch, dated 31st January, 1838, the noble lord calls the "special consideration" of governor Nicolay to three points, "1st, the absence of a proper proportion of women to accompany the Indians. 2dly, the want of an unexceptionable authority to settle disputes between the labourers and their employers. And, 3rdly, the limitation of the terms of the contracts." The mere statement of these points is sufficient to show the nature of the system under which the Coolies were brought, and the frauds and injuries to which they were exposed. References are occasionally made to Coolies who were imported into Mauritius, some as far back as 1830, without even the formality of a contract; and it is not attempted to be denied that large numbers were so introduced. Mr. Scott, an eye-witness of the condition of many of them, pronounced it to be "deplorable;" and says, that "some complained much of the severity and duration of their work; that the stipulated quantity of food and clothes was not distributed;" and "that the terms of these (contracts) are getting gradually less advantageous to the Indian," as we have before shown, and that "numbers were only restrained by being on an island from at once running away!" We find also, "that engagements had been entered into in Calcutta with the Indians," which required their "working on Sundays," which permitted their "corporal punishment by the sirdar, or chief," and which allowed the planters to exact from them "unlimited hours of work." Against irregularities of this kind the governor cautions the importers of these people into Mauritius; but none of the evils complained of were remedied, up to the period when the governor-general of India issued a prohibition against their further exportation, either to that colony, or to the West Indies—a measure which the home government also, in consequence of the debates in both houses of parliament, and the disclosures then made, felt to be imperatively necessary to prevent the further traffic in the persons of the Coolies, which was declared to be second only in atrocity to the African slave-trade.

Mr. Scott, in his report to the governor-general of India, from which we have already quoted, states, that he found the Coolies in Mauritius had left India "under the impression that they were going to the company's ra-bustie," (or village,) and adds, "the only practical difference between the slaves and the Indians is that the latter receive remuneration in money." He afterwards observes, that the Indian infers from the statements made to him, "that the price of rice, ghee, &c. is the same at the rabustie, as 'in his own bazaar,' and only finds out his error when it is irretrievable."

Mr. J. P. Woodcock, of the Bombay civil service, made also a report to the governor-general of India on the same subject, from which we make a few short extracts. After stating the manner in which Coolies were obtained in Calcutta, through the medium of "crimps," he adds, "Mauritius was described to them in glowing terms, and advantage taken of their ignorance to provoke the belief that every necessary of life was cheap, labour light, and that the voyage would only occupy them ten days!" Of their treatment on board ship during their voyage, he gives the following description:—"I was a passenger in March last in the *Drongan*, 355 tons, Captain Mackenzie, bound for Mauritius with a cargo of rice, and sixty-six Coolies, * * * of every variety of caste from the Bramin to the Choman. * * * The lower decks of the *Drongan* were stowed with rice, and the Coolies were disposed in the waste between the gangways and the fore-castle, where, if the weather had not been remarkably fine, they might have suffered, being unprotected from every change of weather."

He then informs us that "they were made to assist in working the ship, and suffered no ill-treatment but such punishment as their own sirdar inflicted." The voyage occupied two months in this instance. On their arrival, the Coolies "were marched off to their destination," to perform as much labour when there as "should be fixed by the manager of the estate," which he subsequently describes as "a long and hard day's work." He fully confirms Mr. Scott's representations respecting the price of "food and raiment in Mauritius," which, he remarks, "is inordinately expensive."

He found the Coolies were generally ignorant of the mode of

obtaining redress for their grievances; and when not ignorant, they complained "of the distance to which they must proceed to obtain justice." On stating to them that they might apply to "the commissary of police of the division of the island to which their estate belongs," they replied, "he is a Frenchman, ignorant of our language; and then our master is a Frenchman; so what justice can we expect?" "The chief abuses," Mr. Woodcock adds, "which suggest themselves as possible to occur in the system at present adopted in procuring and deporting labourers to the Mauritius are, the manner in which they are collected; the ignorance of the termson which they have agreed to serve; the doubt whether the identical persons who agree are embarked; and the treatment they are likely to obtain during the voyage."

The frightful mortality which has attended the transit of the Coolies to Mauritius must not be overlooked. Sir W. Nicolay, addressing the supreme government of India, points out "the necessity of measures for the proper treatment of the Coolies on the passage," and subsequently goes on to state, "that three successive ships have been placed in quarantine, owing to the disease and extensive mortality that has prevailed among the labourers embarked upon them;" that the '*William Wilson*,' out of 224, had lost 31; the '*Indian Oak*,' 6; and the '*Adelaide*,' out of 72, no fewer than twenty-four, besides two on its arrival, and one lost over-board. And the colonial secretary (Dick,) in a despatch to the government of Madras, attests that the ship '*Edward Robinson*,' of 300 tons burthen, brought from Pondichery and Tranquebar 425 natives of India," and adds, "on board which ship there was no surgeon, nor any person capable of giving professional assistance, in case of sickness or an accident occurring." "In the instance of the '*Juliana*,'" says Sir W. Nicolay, again, "very unfavourable rumours reached the government, after her departure, of the manner in which the Indians on board of her were treated, the truth of which I have reason not to doubt." One extract more from the parliamentary papers before we quit them: "I have heard a case," says Mr. Scott in his paper laid before the governor general of India, "when the old slaves of an estate had come to their master and begged him to send for no more Indians to take the bread out of their mouths." In how many cases this may have been done we know not; but we can easily imagine what must have been the effect of the introduction of about 45,000 Coolies, all of whom, with the exception of a few hundred women and children, were adult labourers, upon the interests, and the happiness, as well as the morals of the liberated negroes; and we do know, that the great object for which this host of Indians has been imported into Mauritius has been to lower the price of wages, by compelling the negroes to accept such terms as their masters choose to give them, or to starve!

In a former number of the *Reporter* we gave the latest official intelligence of the condition of the Coolies. In that article we showed, from incontrovertible evidence, that the whole system of immigration into Mauritius had been characterised by the grossest frauds and cruelty, and had been sustained by the most infamous tyranny and oppression. On the present occasion, we shall do no more than quote a summary view of the facts collected in Mr. Scoble's recent pamphlet on the subject. In answer to the question, "How were the Coolies in Mauritius obtained previously to the restrictions being laid on?" Mr. Prinsep, secretary to the government of India, in an official report on the subject, states: "The methods adopted for procuring labourers to engage for service in colonies and places beyond sea, are productive of serious frauds, and have led to much oppression and," he further observes, "the system is a source of injury and abuse rather than of benefit to the labourers, in the form in which it is at present carried on." The governor, Sir William Nicolay, in referring to the same subject in a despatch to Lord Glenelg, dated 21st May, 1839, observes, "That very nefarious practices have been resorted to in many instances, in order to procure labourers for embarkation for this island, is beyond all doubt;" and Mr. Special Justice Anderson asserts in one of his letters to the governor, that "many of them have actually been kidnapped from their own country, which," he adds, "they have all been induced to leave under circumstances of gross fraud." To go into the history of all those "frauds" would be to detail circumstances second only in atrocity to those connected with the African slave-trade. The fact is established beyond dispute, that multitudes have been kidnapped—forced into prison-depôts until the Mauritian slavers were ready to receive them—hurried on board—put under hatches and guards—robbed and pillaged of the advances made to them by the Mauritian agents in Calcutta—shipped in large numbers on board vessels without the requisite accommodation, food, or medical attendance—brought under the most fraudulent contracts to labour for years on scanty wages, and scanty fare—separated from their families and from their homes—compelled to perform the hardest agricultural labour known at the discretion of their masters—and, to crown all, left without the protection of an upright, impartial, and efficient magistracy.

It appears that from the 1st of August, 1834, to the 24th October, 1838, there were received from Calcutta 13,243 Coolies, viz., 12,994 men; 198 women; and 51 children. From the 1st June, 1837, to the 22nd June, 1838, there were shipped from *Cochin* 306 Coolies, supposed to be all males. From the 1st June, 1837, to 24th June, 1838, there were shipped from *Pondicherry* 5058 Coolies, supposed to be all males. From the 1st June, 1837, to the 25th August, 1838, there were shipped from *Rajahmundry* 441 Coolies, viz., 434 men and seven women; making a total of 19,050—viz., 18,794 men, 205 women, and 51 children. But it is quite clear, from the petition addressed to her Majesty by the planters and others, dated 18th May, 1839, that a much larger number of Coolies had been intro-

duced. The 100 persons who signed that document state, that, within the "last four years," they alone had "caused to be brought from British India upwards of 20,000 native Indian labourers."

With respect to the mortality which has occurred since the arrival of the Indians at Mauritius, the statements are various. It is, however, admitted by the governor to have been great, and to have been "the source of deep regret" to him. In a despatch, dated 31st Dec., 1838, the colonial secretary (Mr. Dick) thus writes: "The mortality which has prevailed among the Indian labourers, as well on their voyage as after their arrival here, and more particularly on some estates and establishments, has been the source of deep regret to his Excellency. Mr. Special Justice Anderson states the mortality of the Coolies in Port Louis to amount to eight or nine per cent. per annum! This would be equal to the destruction of the whole number of Coolies introduced every twelve years!!

Out of the 19,050 Coolies introduced, of whom we have any account in the papers before us only 205 were women! It is easy to conceive that, from this frightful disparity of the sexes, the most horrible and revolting depravity and demoralization must necessarily ensue; and that such large masses of ignorant and degraded beings must carry with them a most corrupting influence on others.

As to the general treatment of the Coolies in Mauritius, but one opinion can be entertained by the friends of humanity. Independently of the evidence derived from private sources, on which implicit reliance can be placed, which represents the state of the Coolies as deplorably wretched, and their hardships and sufferings as even greater than those endured by the negroes when slaves, the fact of their having become the prey of the Mauritian planters would be sufficient to justify the worst apprehensions that could be entertained on that point. One honest functionary in Mauritius, Mr. Special Justice Anderson, has spoken out upon this point, in opposition to those who would have us believe that the Coolies in that colony are treated with "humanity and kindness;" and we have no doubt, in opposition to his own interests and personal ease and comfort. In his letters to Governor Nicolay, dated the 19th and 30th of November, 1839, he states, that those whom he had examined in Port Louis were "overworked," were subjected to severe "personal chastisement," were without proper shelter and "lodging accommodation," were deprived of necessary medical attendance and care when suffering from disease, and in other ways seriously injured and abused, inasmuch that he says "it is a source of astonishment to me that any body of freemen, whatever may have been their former condition, should have borne, with the patience and forbearance which the Indian labourers at Port Louis have displayed, the bitter disappointment which must have attended their introduction into this island;" and, he adds, "to induce them to come here, their ignorance is worked upon in India by the most false and deceitful representations, and the robbery and pillage which has been practised on them at Calcutta would scarcely be credited, if the fact was not established by the most convincing testimony. They reach this colony after having been robbed of six months pay, which is advanced (or said to be advanced) in India; and when here their comfort is in every way neglected, while they are compelled by the engagements to which their own ignorance or the avarice of others has bound them, to toil during five years for a recompense bearing no proportion to the work to which they are subjected, when compared with the common estimation of the value of labour in this colony, or to the sum which they would earn if they had the free disposal of their own time."

But it may be said, that the evils we have glanced at are admitted, and that the object of the government is to prevent their recurrence in future. Lord John Russell would extend the clauses of the colonial passengers' act to Mauritius, to prevent the overcrowding of vessels carrying emigrants from Hindostan to that colony, and for securing to them a sufficient supply of food and water, and of medical treatment and care while on board. We can have no possible objection to this, but we would remind the noble lord that all this was said to have been provided for long ago by the governor general of India, and that, notwithstanding the existence of the regulations, and the vigilance of the public officers in the different presidencies, the evils complained of multiplied and increased to so serious an extent as to compel the supreme government to interdict the further progress of emigration. We observe also that the laws in force affecting the labourers in Mauritius require a most careful examination and revision, before the Government would be justified in taking off the interdict. We affirm, without fear of contradiction, that the whole correspondence between the executive of that island and the colonial office, if it were made public, would show, that up to the present period, the laws which have been enacted and are in force are of the most atrocious nature, with the exception only of those orders in council issued in 1833, which we have the most serious grounds for believing are a dead letter. We affirm also, that if all the papers and documents now in the colonial office respecting the Coolies were published, the noble lord would scarcely venture upon the step he proposes to take on the 15th inst. At all events, we ask whether the reports of the commissioners of inquiry in India which led Lord Auckland to interpose the supreme authority of India, for the protection of the Coolies, ought not to be produced before any measures be adopted which shall relax the restrictions which at present exist to their further exportation; and is it not reasonable to expect that the present governor, Sir Lionel Smith, should be called upon to report on the actual condition of those already in Mauritius; the state of the law which affects them; and the measures which may be necessary to secure them ample protection,

before the Mauritian planters be permitted to reduce any more to what we believe will be found, on inquiry, a system of slavery. We implore the noble lord to defer his proposition until the British public and the British parliament are in a position to decide upon these important measures.

It cannot be argued that there has been so diminished a supply of the staple products of Mauritius raised since the emancipation of the slaves took place, as to render such a measure as that contemplated by the noble lord necessary. In 1825, the quantity of sugar exported was 93,723 cwts.; in 1829, 297,958 cwts.; in 1833, 529,352 cwts.; in 1837, 537,961 cwts.; in 1838, 604,671 cwts.; and in 1839, 612,385 cwts. Here then we have full proof that the arguments so incessantly urged by the West India colonies, and which have been so well met by the noble lord at the head of the colonial department, in a recent despatch to the Governor of British Guiana, will not apply to Mauritius.

We ask for time, and for further information, which we know the government possess or ought to possess; and earnestly trust the noble lord who proposes to open India once more to the felon planters of Mauritius will re-consider the subject, and postpone the contemplated measure, at least until another session of parliament. But should the noble lord persist in urging it forward, we entreat those honourable members who have distinguished themselves without reference to party as the enemies of oppression, and the friends of liberty, to give it their most strenuous and decided opposition.

In conclusion, we call the attention of our readers to a circular addressed to each member of parliament, on the 26th March last, when the discussion was expected to come on, by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and which we need not say, is as applicable now as it was then:—

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society deeply regret to find contrary to their earnest hope, that the government have determined in connexion with the extension of the "Colonial Passengers' Bill to Mauritius" by the clauses to be proposed by Lord John Russell, to seek the sanction of the house of commons to the relaxation of the prohibition which at present exists against the exportation of Coolies from Hindostan.

The committee respectfully, but earnestly implore your attendance at the House to-morrow, Friday evening, to prevent the adoption, or, at least, to postpone the consideration of so injurious a measure until some future session of the House, for the following among other reasons:—

1.—Because an immense number of Coolies, amounting to more than 40,000, has already been introduced into that colony under circumstances the most infamous, and held to service under contracts the most fraudulent; leaving in India, as is well-known, in the great majority of instances, their wives and children destitute and without protection.

2.—Because the official accounts which have been received in reference to them state the startling fact, that out of upwards of 19,000 Coolies, (the number reported,) scarcely more than 200 were females.

3.—Because the very partial inquiry into the condition of the Coolies in Mauritius, conducted under circumstances in no wise likely to elicit truth, and extending to not more than 2500 of them, is of the most meagre, unsatisfactory, and contradictory character.

4.—Because the governor-general of India, in consequence of the atrocities brought to light by a court of inquiry held on the spot, in connexion with the mode in which they had been obtained and transported to Mauritius, absolutely forbade their further exportation to that or any other British colony, from any of the presidencies.

5.—Because neither the report of the commissioners of inquiry in India, which led the governor-general to take this most decided and important step, nor the communications of that high functionary to the home government stating his reasons for the same, nor the despatches of her majesty's ministers relative thereto, have been presented to parliament.

6.—Because the home government fully confirmed in the year 1838 the previous decision of the governor-general of India, after a full discussion of the whole question in both houses of parliament.

7.—Because the state of the law in Mauritius, at the present time, as affecting every class of labourers, is of the most rigorous and oppressive kind, and is chiefly administered by the planters themselves.

8.—Because the demand for an augmentation of labourers is principally grounded on an alleged want of disposition to industry, and a reasonable demand for wages on the part of the negro freemen, of which no proof appears; and which is contrary to the general evidence furnished in those instances, in any of the colonies in which they have been considerably and equitably treated.

9.—Because the amount of produce raised in Mauritius, so far from shewing a diminution since the abolition of slavery, exhibits an immense increase.

10.—Because, from the facts already established in the papers laid before parliament, the most rigid and searching inquiry, conducted by impartial, disinterested, and honourable men is imperatively demanded, before the government can be justified in taking so important a measure as that about to be submitted for the sanction of parliament.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MAY 6TH.

THE GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE

Will commence its sittings at Freemasons' Hall, London, on the 12th of June, 1840. A book is prepared for entering the names and other particulars of the delegates who may be appointed by anti-slavery bodies, both at home and abroad. In a case of such singular interest and importance, the committee earnestly hope, and fully expect, that the friends of the cause in the United Kingdom will not be backward, either in the appointment of delegates, or in their attendance as delegates when appointed. It is particularly requested that all anti-slavery bodies will send an immediate official notification of the appointments which may be made by them, addressed to J. H. Tredgold, Esq., at the office of the Anti-slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street, London.

We are requested to state that a sub-committee has been appointed to assist such friends as may attend the conference in procuring suitable accommodation. Letters addressed to 27, New Broad Street will be attended to.

THE importance of the subject which is to be discussed in parliament on the 15th instant, if Lord John Russell adheres to his present notice on the subject of transporting Hill Coolies from India to Mauritius, has induced us to devote a large portion of our columns to-day to a full statement of the facts involved in it. Our efforts on this matter must not be relaxed for a moment. Whatever symptoms of embarrassment and indecision may have been apparent in his proceedings, the noble Lord has given no intimation as yet of the abandonment of his purpose. To all appearance he means to press the measure, and we must act as though we knew that he does. We may at all events be sure that he will, if he finds the abolitionists asleep. We implore our friends to complete whatever they have begun, or contemplated. Our success is of great importance to the cause of humanity.

Our columns to-day contain the details of an interesting and not unimportant episode in the great Anti-slavery struggle. The scene of it is Liverpool, once the strong-hold of the English slave-trade, and now of the spirit of slavery. On the 16th of April, there was held in this town a public meeting of the local Anti-slavery society, "to take into consideration the duty of the friends of the negro, with reference to the present state of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world." On this occasion Mr. Scoble, when making the very accurate, and one would have thought by no means provoking statement, that the wages of a day's labour in Guiana was one guilder, or 1s. 4½d sterling, was interrupted by a loud cry of "no! no! I say no!" Upon inquiry, who should appear to be the author of this cry, but Mr. Semple, of the house of Semple and company, a fallacious letter from whom to Lord John Russell on the subject of immigration to British Guiana has the honour of figuring in the late parliamentary papers. Mr. Semple made the somewhat startling declaration, "I paid three guilders." He afterwards stated that three guilders (4s. 2d.) per day "was the minimum of each negro's earnings upon the estates with which he was connected;" and added that "he should be exceedingly happy to show Mr. Scoble his accounts of the earnings of his people," in confirmation of his assertion. It is not for us to say whether Mr. Semple expected his offer to be accepted. In fact it was so; and Mr. Scoble, Mr. John Cropper, and the Rev. Mr. Bevan, waited on him on Saturday, the 18th of April. The details of this interview, which are as yet private, but which we think must ultimately come before the public in an authentic shape, are most instructive, and to all but those who have some previous acquaintance with West Indian ways, will be most marvellous. What we are able to state at present is, that the accounts of one estate (Mara) were investigated by Messrs. Cropper and Bevan; and it was found that, out of 120 labourers, not more than five had earned more than a guilder per day, the great majority much less, and some of them not more than half that sum! So much for the truth of the assertion so boldly made at the public meeting, and for the validity of the evidence of which the examination was challenged. It is now due to Mr. Semple to say, that he did not wait for the investigation of the accounts before he acknowledged his error. At the commencement of the interview he did so, and expressed his regret for it; he stated also that his eagerness to correct his mistake had been so great, that he had first returned to the Music Hall for this purpose, in hope of reaching it before the meeting had broken up, and had subsequently written a note to this effect, which, on bad advice certainly, he had destroyed—adding, that he was then ready to take whatever steps might be necessary to this end. So much humility engaged at the hands of Mr. Scoble and his friends merciful treatment for Mr. Semple; and it was agreed that the matter should terminate by his writing a second note after the tenor of the first. This arrangement issued under what influences we say not now, in the production of a

somewhat artful communication, enclosing a declaration of Mr. William Laing, a partner in the firm, for the purpose of attempting to justify a mis-statement which ought to have been frankly retracted. These documents will be found in another place, together with an account of the meeting, taken (with a minute and unimportant addition,) from the *Liverpool Standard*, a hostile paper, and two admirable letters, one from Mr. Bevan, and one from Mr. Scoble, with which the first scene of this drama concludes. Our readers, of course, will peruse the whole; and they may expect further disclosures respecting this characteristic but infatuated exhibition of West Indian artifice and fraud.

We have now a word or two to say respecting the conduct of the papers in the West Indian interest, the *Liverpool Standard*, and *Mail*. Evidently prepared for their purpose, they poured out immediately a flood of abuse on the abolitionists in general, and on Mr. Scoble in particular. This distinguished philanthropist is denounced as "the most reckless and inaccurate speaker that ever ventured to stand before the public;" as "having grossly committed himself by his flagrant mis-statements on subjects connected with the West Indies," and as "actuated by deep-rooted and inveterate hatred of the West India proprietors." Similar compliments are paid to the abolitionists at large, while the body of Friends, without even an exception, are courteously designated "the lying Quakers." All this cannot be misunderstood. There would be no resentment against us if our operations had no power. No pains would be taken to stigmatize Mr. Scoble as a liar, if it had not been found that his testimony embarrassed the schemes of avarice and oppression. The libellous virulence of the West Indian press, is at once a testimony to the virtue and a proof of the usefulness of the parties against whom it is directed; and, if we wanted such an impulse, it would supply us with the last and irresistible motive to perseverance and constancy.

THE mail which arrived on Saturday from the West Indies brings intelligence of an interesting character. In Jamaica, Sir Charles Metcalfe has been pursuing his tour of the island, amidst festivities and flatteries which are sufficiently significant and ominous. All the compliments he receives are from the old plantocracy, and these are of the most fulsome description. We find but one occasion mentioned on which he permitted himself to be addressed by the labourers, and then, says the editor of the *Colonial Reformer*, "a multitude of complaints were immediately poured forth, chiefly we believe, on the subject of excessive rent charges, and summary ejections. The complaints, however, were urged in so confused a manner, that his Excellency appeared unable to understand them—he was extremely patient and attentive in listening to all they had to say, but seemed quite at a loss how to carry on any conversation with them." And so begins and ends the sympathy of this conciliating (!) governor with the great mass of the people in Jamaica! Well may they regret Sir Lionel Smith! The fulsome compliments of the planters Sir Charles Metcalfe returns with compliments not less fulsome. The only exception to this rule is to be found in his reply to the magistrates of Hanover, to whom, after their late unrighteous and cruel decisions, he does just venture fondly to say:—

"The support that I consider at present to be of the greatest importance, and for which I confidently rely on the magistrates of this and every other part of the island, is the careful and benevolent administration of the laws; such as will ensure protection and security to all classes of the inhabitants, redound to the honour of the legislature and the magistracy, and promote in the greatest degree the happiness of the community."

And this is taken by the *St. Jago Gazette* and the *Colonial Reformer* to have been intended as reproof, and a severe one, of men whose flagrant injustice and tyranny are taxing the patience of the people beyond the power of endurance! It is at length quite manifest that, under the guise of conciliation, the governor has again been throwing everything into the hands of the planters, and allowing himself to become the passive instrument of their will. Even those who viewed his early measures with a favourable eye have been constrained to change their opinion concerning him. A private letter from a most respectable source gives the following view of his administration.

Sir Charles Metcalfe is a quietist; and his system is to tranquillize the surface of everything, never mind what corruption may be underneath. His answers to public addresses are full of nauseating compliments and fulsome flattery; and his conciliation consists in asking every man to dine who calls upon him, (and every one who calls is admitted,) and in permitting all things, provided they are quietly done. As a portion of this scheme, even the customary mode of acquainting the public with the appointments to offices of trust under the crown, and to commissions in the magistracy of the various parishes, is abolished. And why? Because the principle laid down by the government has been departed from for the sake of conciliating a party, and men admitted into the magistracy whose names, if published, would have excited the indignant remarks of the community. It is a fact, that since Sir Charles has been in the island many new appointments have been made, but that not one has been gazetted. Why this concealment? My impression is that what is done covertly is not done honestly. There existed previously too numerous a body of magistrates in this colony, as compared with the property and population; and instructions were sent to Sir Lionel Smith to reduce the number where possible, and not to appoint new ones, except in cases of great necessity. Why has there been a deviation from that wise policy? Can any principle be more iniquitous, than to appoint overseers as magistrates who are interested, and their masters too, in nearly every case they decide; and who, when in the commission, commonly attend the courts as complainants, and are consequently changing places with others so situated—now on the bench deciding—now on the floor preferring a complaint? Is



that right?—The same system of quietism has prevented the issuing of writs of supersedeas to any of them; although several have been guilty of gross perversion of legal principles and of extreme injustice. This is but one portion of those sins of omission which amount to the encouragement of oppression, and which add to the present popularity of the governor. I have not space to enlarge on this subject; but I entreat you not to mistake the absence of scurrility in the press for evidence of a general popularity on the part of the governor, nor a system of quietism for a government of integrity and benevolence.

If, however, the system of the government have been "quietism," far different has been the system of the planters. They have done their best to promote agitation. Atrocious acts of oppression have abounded. The administration of the present iniquitous laws in their hands has been the reverse of "careful and benevolent;" it has been merciless, reckless, and unjust. The papers teem with instances of flagrant oppression and wrong, worthy of the worst days of slavery. In addition to numerous vexations of this class, the question of tenancy and rent has been thrown into a most agitating and intolerable position. According to an opinion of the attorney-general given to Mr. Knibb, the labourers are now held to be weekly tenants! On this subject the editor of the *Colonial Reformer* says, "We have seen the opinion given by the learned attorney, and are quite satisfied that, if promulgated and acted on by the general body of proprietors or their agents, it would plunge the entire country into the most dreadful state of confusion—it would in effect go to turn adrift upon the wide world nine-tenths of the labouring population of the island at one week's notice. Nay, more, according to the attorney-general's opinion, the landlord has no occasion to trouble himself with the process of ejectment—he has the right of doubling his rents at a week's notice—and if he only keep on doubling his demand every week or fortnight, it would quickly amount to a sum quite sufficient to supersede the necessity of ejectments. And the construction put upon the petty debt act affords a ready means of carrying the planters' views into effect."

Such is the course, not of quietism certainly, but of galling and reckless provocation which has been adopted by the planters. It would have been no matter of surprise if the most serious disturbances had followed: but, happily, not only for the general population of Jamaica, but for the thoughtless oppressors themselves, the establishment of freedom has brought a safety-valve into operation, by which the dangerous pressure of general indignation will, as we hope, be relieved. Three public meetings have been lately held, one of them an anti-slavery convention at Spanish-town, another an anniversary of an anti-slavery society at Kingston, and a third an annual meeting of a society for the protection of civil and religious liberty at Falmouth, which have given to the people opportunity for the utterance of their feelings. And freely and fervidly they have been uttered; but not in a way to expose them to just censure. The planter-press, indeed, has broken out into loud complaints and vehement denunciations; but that is easily to be accounted for, without supposing that the speakers at these meetings said anything worthy of blame. The use of speech after the manner of freemen, is strange to the ears of the old slave-masters, and the new-born power of public rebuke and indignation galls them. It is a good sign; and as it indicates some remaining sensibility, augurs, perhaps, some measure of improvement. That our readers may the better know the character of the meeting most virulently complained of, we give the following extract from a private letter on which entire reliance may be placed.

A great deal of noise has been unnecessarily made about it, and much abuse has been unjustly heaped upon the speakers who moved and seconded the resolutions. It was as mild a meeting as the most prudent hater of injustice and oppression could desire; but nothing but "conciliation," however great the sacrifice demanded by the great and powerful at the hands of the victims of their tyranny, suits the admirers of the "mild" government of Sir Charles. Since the Falmouth meeting, meetings of a similar character have been held at Spanish Town and Kingston; and, although stronger expressions were used at the latter than at Falmouth, but little has been said of them in the way of censure, probably because the Honourable T. Bernard presided at the one, and the Honourable Hector Mitchell, mayor, at the other.*

The editor of the *Colonial Reformer* retraces in detail the course of the various speakers, and we select two extracts in illustration.

The chairman, Mr. Abbott, brought under review the atrocious conduct of certain of the planting gentry, who, in defiance of common law and common prudence, had perilled the peace of the country, by unroofing the houses and destroying the provision grounds of the labourers. These outrages, no doubt, had led to the burnings of trash houses about which such an outcry had been raised—the one was the natural result of the other. Mr. Abbott instituted a very just comparison between the two offences of burning on the one hand, and destroying on the other; and contended it was equally a crime on the part of the white man to destroy the house and provision grounds of the black man, as it was on the part of the black man to set fire to any of the premises of a white man—both were lawless acts of violence deserving the severest punishment. And pray, who will gainsay Mr. Abbott's opinion in this matter? And yet Mr. Abbott has been denounced, as inciting the labourers to commit arson! He further explained that the discontent of the people arose from the absence of fair arrangements respecting rents. They were willing to rent their houses upon just and equitable terms; but the planters insisted on binding the labourers down to work five days in the week, and to be mulcted in certain penalties for every day's absence! And as the irresistible inducement to their consenting to this system of disguised slavery, they were to enjoy the privilege of occupying certain premises, but to pay a rental for the same at least double their actual value! Well might

Mr. Abbott pronounce this scheme "preposterous!" Is there an honest man here, or elsewhere, who would not subscribe to the same sentiment? Mr. Abbott further mentioned that he had told his own flock to strike work till they obtained a proper adjustment of the question, and the consequence was that arrangements mutually satisfactory had been concluded. Yet Mr. Abbott is one of the "Firebrands."

The speech of the Rev. Mr. Knibb closed the proceedings of the meeting. It was evidently delivered under feelings of considerable excitement, and was certainly anything but complimentary to the "plantocracy" of Jamaica. No wonder that they writhe and scream under his lash—certainly he has not spared them. Apart, however, from what was merely annoying and offensive to the fine feelings of the aristocracy, there was literally nothing in Mr. Knibb's speech that could be made the ground work of controversy. And pray what right have they to complain of Mr. Knibb speaking disparagingly of them? If there be one man more than another in this community that has had ample provocation to speak with bitterness of the Jamaica planters, that man is Mr. Knibb. For the last eight years he has unceasingly been the object of their deadliest malignity—they have spared no effort to destroy him—he has been threatened with assassination. Every scheme which the most diabolical ingenuity could devise, backed by the blackest falsehood and foulest perjury, has been resorted to for the purpose of blasting his reputation—and day by day, and week after week, has he been subjected to the brutal insults and slanderous invectives of the vermin of the press, especially retained to do the filthy work of these very parties. Do they think then that they are entitled to Mr. Knibb's forbearance? Have they any just ground of complaint because he expresses for them his contempt and scorn? Assuredly not.

The *Reformer* closes his observations with the following appeal. "We ask an impartial public, if there be anything in those addresses to justify the ferocious violence manifested by the depraved organs of the dominant faction! For our parts we are only surprised that, under such exciting circumstances, with so many sources of discontent to rouse the angry passions, so much moderation and forbearance should have been observed in a meeting comprising so many of the injured parties. The meeting, however, will do good—we should like to see similar ones held in every parish in the island where such abuses exist—it would be the most effectual check on the lawless aggressions of petty tyrants and oppressors."

The accounts from British Guiana are very cheerful, and in singular contrast with the fallacious—we may say the wilfully false—statements which have abused the public ear in England.

We mentioned in our last, that the wicked contract law passed by the planters of Barbados, in conjunction with their sapient governor, had thrown the island into a ferment. It now appears that the Barbadians are reaping the fruits of their folly in the rapid emigration of labourers to British Guiana, a relief to the oppressed which the recent disallowance of the emigration act by the home government renders, of course, of somewhat easier access. In this state of things the men of Barbados have become frantic, and have actually passed an act, to which the governor has given his sanction, in the very teeth of the home government. We give this extraordinary piece of legislation entire from the *Times* of Monday, as received by a private arrival bringing papers to so late a date as the 25th of March.

"BARBADOS.

"An act to amend two certain acts of this Island, one entitled 'an act to prevent the clandestine deportation of young persons from this Island,' and the other entitled, 'an act to regulate the emigration of labourers from this Island, and to protect the labourers in this Island from impositions practised on them by emigration agents.'

"Whereas it is deemed expedient that the penalties declared in and by the first clause of the aforesaid act, entitled 'an act to prevent the clandestine deportation of young persons from this Island,' should apply only to the abduction of children under twelve years of age.

"Clause 1. Be it therefore enacted by his excellency Major-General Sir Evan John Murray M'Gregor, Bart., governor and commander-in-chief of this Island, the honourable members of her Majesty's council, and the general assembly of this island, that the first clause in the said last mentioned act shall apply only to the case of children under the age of sixteen years, as therein is provided. And that the second clause of the said last mentioned act shall apply to the case of young persons over the age of twelve, and under the age of twenty-one years. And whereas, in and by the said act, entitled an 'act to regulate the emigration of labourers from this Island,' the churchwarden and justice of the peace, whose duty it is to inquire whether any labourer, artificer, or pauper, desirous of emigrating from this island, hath any such kindred as in the said act is mentioned dependant on him or her for support, are not restricted as to the time within which such inquiry should be made.

"Clause 2. Be it therefore enacted, that such churchwarden and justice of the peace shall within ten days after application for that purpose to be made, as in the said last mentioned act is provided, give the certificate therein required, unless it shall appear within such period that such labourer, artificer, or pauper, hath any such kindred dependant on him or her for support, and for whom he or she shall not have made satisfactory provision during his or her absence; and to remove all doubts as to the true construction of the said act, it is hereby declared, that such labourer, artificer, or pauper, shall not be bound to adduce any witness or witnesses to prove that he or she leaves no such relative behind: provided also that the said act shall not apply to the case of paupers, unless there be reason to suspect that any such pauper hath designedly reduced himself or herself to that condition in order to evade the restrictions in the said last mentioned act. And whereas certain persons have been carrying on a traffic in labourers, to emigrate from this island to other colonies, such persons have by wicked devices endeavoured to dissatisfy the labourers with their state and condition, and they have greatly unsettled the minds of the labouring population, by their false pretensions, and have practised great fraud and

* The Rev. T. F. Abbott, a Baptist missionary, presided at Falmouth.

deception upon the labourers to prevail on them to emigrate. And whereas, while it is just that the labouring classes should be left absolutely free to carry their labour to the market of their choice, yet it is proper to provide at the same time against their own ignorance and inexperience being practised on by interested parties, and experience has proved the inadequacy of the existing laws for that purpose.

"Clause 3. Be it therefore enacted, that from and after the passing of this act it shall not be lawful for any person, unless under the sanction of her Majesty's government, to act as an emigration agent in this island, and every person acting as such emigration agent in this island without such sanction, and every person counselling, aiding, and abetting any such offender, and every person who shall contract with, entice, persuade, or endeavour to seduce any labourer or artificer to go out of this island to any other colony or place, shall, on conviction thereof, before any police magistrate of this island, forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding 50*l.* nor less than 10*l.* for every labourer or artificer so contracted with, enticed, persuaded, or attempted so to be, and in default of payment shall be committed to the common gaol of this island, there to remain without bail or mainprize, for the space of three calendar months, unless the forfeiture so incurred shall be sooner paid, one half of which forfeiture shall go to the informer, and the other half be paid into the public treasury of this island for the public uses thereof; and if any person so convicted shall, after such conviction, be guilty of any such offence, and be thereof convicted before any police magistrate, such offender shall be imprisoned in the common gaol of this island, with or without hard labour, for the space of six calendar months.

"Clause 4. Provided nevertheless, and be it further enacted, that if any person be convicted before any police magistrate of any offence punishable by this act, or by the said act, entitled 'An Act to Prevent the Clandestine Deportation of Young Persons from this Island,' and shall think himself or herself aggrieved by the judgment of such police magistrate, before whom he or she shall be convicted, such person shall have liberty to appeal from every such conviction to the Assistant Court of Appeal, and the execution of every such judgment so appealed from shall be suspended in case the person so convicted shall immediately enter into recognizances before such police magistrate, which he is hereby authorized and required to take, himself or herself in the sum of 50*l.*, and two sufficient sureties in the sum of 25*l.* each, current money of this island, if such conviction be a first conviction for any such offence, but if a subsequent conviction, then in the sum of 100*l.*, with two sufficient sureties in the sum of 50*l.* each, upon condition to prosecute such appeal with effect, and to be forthcoming to abide the judgment and determination of the said Court of Appeal, and to pay such costs as the said court shall award on such occasion; and if upon hearing such appeal the judgment of the police magistrate before whom the appellant shall have been convicted shall be affirmed, such appellant shall immediately be committed by the Assistant Court of Appeal to the common gaol of this island, without bail or mainprize, according to such conviction, and for the space of time therein mentioned, unless in case of a first conviction the sum adjudged to be paid by the police magistrate giving such judgment shall be paid.

"Read three times, and passed the Council unanimously, this 13th day of March, 1840.

"RICHARD HORT,
Acting Colonial Secretary.

"Read three times, and passed the General Assembly, *nemine contradicente*, this 13th day of March, 1840.

"JOHN MYERS,
Clerk of the General Assembly.

"E. J. MURRAY MACGREGOR, Governor.

"Government-house, Barbados, March 21, 1840."
This desperate effort of faction and tyranny, first to plunge the peasantry into hopeless wretchedness, and next to prevent their escape from it, has led to the following resolutions on the part of some of the colonists, as published in one of the Barbados papers.

"1. That this committee have witnessed with extreme regret the emigration of large numbers of the labouring population of this island to British Guiana; and believing, as they do, that it is neither to the true interest of the people themselves nor of the country that this emigration should continue, they cannot but deplore the existence of those causes which have led to it.

"2. That this committee have read with much alarm and sorrow the third clause of an act which has just passed the legislature for checking this emigration" (quoting the clause.)

"3. That this committee consider it a duty which they owe to themselves, to their labouring brethren, and to the country, unequivocally to deprecate and condemn this enactment, as encroaching unnecessarily and oppressively on the undoubted right of the people to receive counsel and advice from any persons whom they may choose to consult or confer with as to the disposal of themselves and their services by emigration or otherwise; and also on the right of every such person to give such counsel and advice without incurring legal penalties.

"4. That such an enactment is, in the opinion of this committee, eminently calculated to cherish and increase the excitement existing in the public mind at present, and to strengthen the hands of emigration agents, by enlisting on their side the sympathies and influence of the friends of the labouring population and the advocates of human rights."

These proceedings need no comment. No doubt the government will pursue a proper and spirited course on this occasion.

MEETING OF THE LIVERPOOL ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

YESTERDAY evening at seven o'clock, a meeting of the members and friends of the Anti-Slavery Society was held in the Music-hall, Bold-street, for the purpose of taking into consideration the duty of the friends of the negro, with reference to the present state of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world.

The meeting was rather numerously attended, although at the commencement of the proceedings very few people were present.

On the motion of Dr. Raffles, seconded by Mr. Richard Rathbone, the president of the society, Mr. John Cropper, took the chair.

The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, urged the importance of pressing upon the public the necessity of going on in the good work which the society had at heart, in particular that of carrying amongst the emancipated slaves the blessings of the Christian religion. He trusted that the example of this country would be followed by other nations, and that ere long the bonds of slavery would be for ever disovered.

A very long report was then read by the Rev. Mr. Bevan, conveying a high tribute of respect to the memory of the late Mr. Cropper, and giving many details of the progress of the cause in various parts of the world. The report noticed in terms of commendation the efforts of the anti-slavery community of the United States. It also went to show that in Guiana, Demerara, Essequibo, &c., the landed property lately sold had for the most part brought much above its previous value, and none of it below it. This, the report contended, went to prove that the evils apprehended by the friends of slave labour had by no means been realized. Some of the details of the continuance of slavery in Cuba and other parts were sufficiently horrifying. The demoralization of Texas by the encouragement of slavery was dwelt upon, with a compliment to the anti-slavery states of the American union. The abolition movement was, however, going on, and could not be arrested. The dreadful mortality occasioned by slavery was dwelt upon, and it appeared that the annual expenditure of life by the traffic pursued by christian countries amounted to 375,000 individuals. Nothing would arrest the evil but the doing away with the employment of slaves, by bringing the minds of those who made them the instruments of their cupidity to a sense of their wickedness. The report concluded by intimating that, to arrest the dreadful evils of slavery, a convention of the friends of the abolition would be held at London in June next, upon which it implored the blessing of divine providence.

The Chairman then introduced Mr. John Scoble, whose name appeared in prominent characters in the placards. He was loudly cheered.

Mr. Scoble said he had listened with intense interest to the able and eloquent report just read by the secretary of the society. He felt that the ground which had been occupied by the secretary almost precluded the necessity of his appearance before them; the harvest had been reaped, and all he (Mr. Scoble,) could do, was to pass through the field and gather up a few scattered ears here and there, and present to them some few details upon points to which their attention had already been directed. The last time he had the pleasure of addressing an audience in this town, it was his principal duty to call attention to the wretched, horrid, and appalling situation of the negro apprentices; and to urge upon all the friends of humanity and freedom then present the necessity of exerting themselves yet once more, to put an end for ever to the system of slavery in the British West India colonies. Since that period, as the report had shown, they had achieved a noble triumph for liberty. There would not now be found in the length and breadth of our West India colonies a single slave; at this moment we should find human beings raised from the condition of cattle to the condition of men; we should find men formerly under the most inhuman system ever devised, reduced to the condition of beasts of burden, raised now to the condition of British freemen. In the colonies which he had recently visited, he had been struck, not merely with the results of emancipation in so far as the interests of the planters were concerned, but as far as the feeling and condition of the emancipated were concerned. He had found that commerce flourished; that trade was never in a more healthy condition than at the present time in the British colonies; that wherever there had been a defalcation in the amount of crops, it was to be traced either to the ordinances of providence, or to those circumstances which were foreseen, and said to have been provided against, by the planters themselves. We had heard very little of complaint from the colonies generally, with the exception of the island of Jamaica and British Guiana, with regard to the conduct of the labouring population. We found, indeed, charges brought against the emancipated negroes, but they were merely a reiteration of those charges which were formerly brought against the slaves. The meeting knew that Pharaoh of old said to the children of Israel, that they were idle; and so it was said now of the freemen of our colonies. When you spoke to the planters in this country, and to the merchants who depended upon them, upon this subject you found they all said, "We cannot exact labour—the negroes are indolent—they have a country abounding in fruits and roots, and everything that can sustain and gratify the appetite and heart of man, and they will not labour for more than what will just give them the necessities of life." Throughout the press we found the same statement made; but what were the facts? It would be found, upon examination, that whenever the negro would not work it was because he was not adequately paid—it was because he knew the value of his labour that he was in opposition, generally speaking, to the planters. We were told, for instance, that in British Guiana, the negroes received an immense reward for their toils. Now, what was the reward which the emancipated negro received in that colony for a day's labour, as fixed by the planters themselves? Just sixteen-pence halfpenny sterling! (A loud cry of "No.") There is a gentleman who says no.

Mr. Semple then exclaimed, "I say no: I paid three guilders."

Mr. Scoble.—Will you be good enough to walk up, sir? (Mr. Semple complied with this request, by taking a seat upon the platform.) He (Mr. Scoble,) was exceedingly pleased that a gentleman from Demerara, a planter too, should appear, who said that he paid three guilders to his negroes for a day's work. When his friend Mr. Bevan was reading his admirable report, he was hoping something of this kind might occur, in order that some spirit might be given to the meeting. A little opposition, especially from planters, was exceedingly gratifying to all parties who attended meetings of this kind, and now they were to have it. He would make his statement again—that the price of a day's labour, as fixed by the planters themselves, in British Guiana, was just one guilder per diem—the third part of a dollar, which, in sterling money, was 1*s.* 4*d.*

Another gentleman.—That is for four hour's labour.

Mr. Scoble.—One gentleman at a time: he would dispose of one at once, and now for the facts of the case. During the period of apprenticeship, a tariff of labour was drawn up by a committee of planters; it received an official sanction from the late Sir James Carmichael Smith, and it was considered a sufficient amount of work for a negro performing a day's labour of seven hours and a half. When the 1st of August, 1838, arrived, this same tariff of labour was considered the standard of a day's labour for the freemen, and for that day's labour the sum of one guilder per diem was offered by the planters; and the negroes were compelled, after the 1st of August, to accept the tariff of the planters. His statement was this:—that the day's labour, as far as the amount was concerned, was fixed by the planters themselves upon the 1st of August, 1838; that the amount of wages they gave for it was also fixed by the planters themselves at one guilder per diem. He was speaking of the ordinary field labourers, and of the amount ordinarily expected. If the negroes did not perform the full amount of labour, a certain amount was deducted from the guilder, and they

received only the balance, which was but fair and just to the two parties contracting, and he did not quarrel with it. Now he should be glad, before he proceeded any further, to hear the statement of the gentleman with regard to the three guilders being paid *per diem*.

Mr. Semple then stood forward. When Mr. Scoble stated that one guilder was the wages given to negroes in British Guiana for a day's labour, he was constrained to call out—No; and he maintained it was not the fact. He would in a very few words prove to the meeting that it was not the case. He was himself a native of Demerara, and he had inherited from his father a small West Indian property. He was as averse to slavery as any man and christian possibly could be. His inheritance had been but trifling; and such was his aversion to and detestation of anything like slavery, that as soon as he became of age he declared that he would have nothing to do with it. His patrimony was sold, and he turned his attention to mercantile pursuits. He settled at Berbice, a portion of British Guiana, where he resided as a merchant eleven years; and his character, he believed, was tolerably well known both there and in Liverpool. He had no slaves—he owned none; neither had he anything to do with them, except as porters and domestics. After he came to this country he took into partnership two young men who had been his clerks; but one morning, on going to the office, he was greatly surprised to find that his partners, without his sanction or permission, had bought a large estate, for which they gave between £30,000 and £40,000. Under these circumstances and in this respect he was undoubtedly a West India proprietor; but so far from Mr. Scoble's statement being true, he could show the meeting, or Mr. Scoble himself, his returns, proving that the wages paid these people were three guilders per day. What Mr. Scoble said of the rate of 16½d. might be true; but Mr. Scoble knew that that 1s. 4½d. was for a "task" of seven hours and a half labour, which any negro could do in four hours with great ease; but for twelve hours they could get three guilders, and his people did get it.

Mr. Scoble.—Oh, oh.

Mr. Semple desired that he might not be interrupted by such exclamations as oh, oh.

Mr. Scoble said he would not cause any further interruption.

Mr. Semple would go further to say, that he should be exceedingly happy to show Mr. Scoble his accounts of the earnings of his people. Indeed a friend of his, who had but just sailed for Barbados, waited upon Mr. Scoble yesterday, but could not meet with him, for the same purpose; and there were gentlemen in that meeting who would bear him out when he said that he had himself yesterday sought for Mr. Scoble. Indeed, if Mr. Scoble had not invited him he should have intruded himself upon the meeting. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Scoble said, of course it would be exceedingly rude in him to attempt to invalidate the statements of Mr. Semple, who said that his negroes received three guilders *per diem* for their work. He would not undertake to refute him, or to say the fact was not so; but the meeting would permit him to bring before them one or two official facts, for, after all, more attention would be paid to them than either to Mr. Semple or himself, as bearing on the question mooted between them. With regard to the amount of wages paid for a day's labour, he had before him a statement made by certain colonists from Demerara, in the shape of an address to Lord John Russell, in which they stated that they paid 1s. 6d. *per diem* to the negro.

A voice.—Read the passage.

Mr. Scoble must be allowed first to make his statement, and then he would read the passage. In this address it was stated that the value of a day's labour was nominally 1s. 6d., but that the real value was fixed at 1s. 4½d., the value of the dollar being fixed by proclamation at 4s. 2d. Mr. Scoble then read an extract from a despatch from Lord John Russell to the governor of British Guiana, dated 15th February, 1840, and requested the chairman to say whether he had read correctly or not.

The Chairman looked at the passage, and said Mr. Scoble had read it correctly.

Mr. Scoble continued.—Now what was the amount of labour exacted from the negroes for this 1s. 6d., but which was really only 1s. 4½d. *per diem*? In a despatch from governor Light to Lord Glenelg, dated January 30th, 1839, it was stated that the planters had desired him (the governor) to authorise the substitution of nine hours labour *per diem* instead of seven hours and a half, but that he had refused. [Mr. Scoble read the extract.] It had been stated that the negroes upon the plantations could perform three days' work upon one—

Mr. Semple.—No; I said they could perform three of these tariffs in one day.

Mr. Scoble.—Well, that is the same thing.

Mr. Semple.—Not exactly. I said they could perform three of these tariffs in one day.

A gentleman.—They can do four.

Mr. Scoble.—I beg to deny most distinctly that statement.

The gentleman.—I beg to say I have seen it myself.

Mr. Scoble had had proof of this fact in the year 1837, and subsequently when he visited the colonies, that there were different soils in British Guiana. The labour upon one estate might be very much lighter than upon another. Upon the east coast, where the soil was light and pliable, the negroes could perform their accustomed task in much less time than the negroes who were located upon the banks of the river could perform theirs.

A gentleman.—It is just the opposite.

Mr. Scoble said that was a most extraordinary statement, for there was not a planter who did not know that the soil upon the river was stiff and hard, whilst that upon the east coast was light and pliable, and that much more labour could therefore be performed upon the one than upon the other. This was clear from this fact—that upon some estates on the banks of the river, the tariff of one hundred rods weeding and moulding had been reduced to seventy-five, in consequence of the labourers not being able to perform it within the seven hours and a half. It was easy for one gentleman to affirm and for another to deny; it must be for the meeting to judge. He had proved, in the first place, the value of a day's labour in a memorial to Lord John Russell from the planters themselves, and what a day's labour was had been stated by the governor of Guiana; and he would leave the meeting to decide the question. During the season of crop it was usual to give higher wages to those who were employed about the buildings—in the boiling house—because they were required to labour a greater number of hours, in order that the saccharine matter

might be properly boiled out. Now he had known in these circumstances a negro to get from one and a half to two guilders per day; but it was only during the apprenticeship, when the value of labour was much more highly appreciated in Guiana than at present. And he said, looking at the fertility of the soil as compared with other colonies, the remuneration of labour, whether one guilder or three guilders *per diem*, was not too much, and that the planters could afford to give more.

Mr. Semple said he had an engagement to meet, but before he left the meeting he wished to remind Mr. Scoble of one circumstance—that he (Mr. Semple) did not at all contend or maintain that three guilders *per diem* was too much. All he said was this, that it was what his people got, and that it was the minimum of each negro's earnings upon the estates with which he was concerned. Independently of that, they had free rent and medical attendance.

Mr. Scoble wished to say that himself and Mr. Cropper would do themselves the pleasure of waiting upon Mr. Semple to-morrow.

Mr. Semple said he should be most happy to see them.

Mr. Scoble observed it must be borne in mind that Mr. Semple had stated that the minimum was three guilders *per diem*.

A Voice.—For how long?

Mr. Semple.—I say for the day; and I believe not for twelve hours.

The Chairman.—However, we will call upon you.

Mr. Semple.—Very well.

Mr. Scoble resumed. He should be very happy to bear his testimony to the accuracy of Mr. Semple's statements when he had examined the documents, should he find them correct. He would repeat the observation that this tariff of wages had been fixed by the planters themselves; and he would ask the meeting, as a question of common sense, whether it was at all likely the planters would fix such a small amount of labour to be performed in return for their wages as some gentlemen would have them suppose? Much had been said with regard to the diminution of produce in British Guiana; much had been said too as to the ruin of that fine portion of the British empire. He felt more than ordinary interest in that colony, for he had spent a longer period in it than in any other which he visited during his two tours, in the years 1836 and 1838. So far from being an enemy to the colony or to the planters, he would ask any person whether he had ever deteriorated the character of the colony? On the contrary, he had often said it was one of the most splendid appendages to the British crown—that there was ample room in it for forty millions of people—that it had a soil of inexhaustible fertility; and that those individuals who located themselves there, provided they went as free persons, and took care of their freedom when there, were likely by steady industry to raise themselves. This he had asserted again and again; for he was no enemy to emigration thither. His quarrel was not with the colony, but with the men who were the governors of it—the planters; and so soon as they could be trusted with any grace with those who went there, he would allow them to have them. This was a point of very great importance in connexion with the prosperity, present and future, of British Guiana. He ought to state that there was a gross fallacy lurking under the statements made by gentlemen with respect to that colony. In all the written documents which had appeared before the public, and in all the statements made with regard to the falling off in the amount of the crops in the colony, they had on all occasions studiously concealed some of the facts of the case. In the first place, they had disguised the actual amount of the exports of the colony under the name of hogsheads of sugar. They would never, they took care, go into details as to how many hundred weights less were the exports last year—but he had found out that the hogsheads increased very much in size; and it would be found, when the official documents were published, that the amount of sugar shipped from Demerara and Berbice during the last year did not fall so very short from the amount exhibited the year before, as stated by the planters themselves. He had before him an official document, which gave the total amount of sugar exported, (but it did not go into details of the different colonies) during last year, as compared with the preceding years. Looking at the whole of the colonies, the amount was 698,000 cwt. less as compared 1838; and 483,000 cwt. as compared with 1837, which he believed the planters of Guiana said was a very profitable year to them. So that the loss upon the sum total was not very great. Mr. Scoble then proceeded to contend that the principal cause of the falling off in the produce of British Guiana in 1839 was the drought, and to defend the character of the negro for industry; and in conclusion he mentioned three points, on each of which he enforced the well known views of the abolitionists, namely, legislation, administration of justice, and emigration; but owing to the late hour at which the meeting concluded, and the necessity for going to press soon, we are unable to report his arguments. In conclusion he moved a resolution declaratory of the sentiments of the meeting.

William Rathbone, Esq. hoped this country would never cease in its exertions, until the abolition of slavery was achieved in every quarter of the globe. God had made all men alike, and there was no need for such meetings if christians proceeded upon the principles which they professed.

The Rev. Mr. KELLY moved a resolution to the effect that slavery was pernicious alike to the slave-holders and the enslaved. He would make no lengthened remarks, as an American gentleman would succeed him, who represented a country which had much more to contend with than this. He considered that the work of abolition, to be successful, must be founded on Christian principles.

The Rev. JOHN KEEP, from America.—It was gratifying to state that in no part of the British dominions was now heard the clanking of the chains of slavery. He then alluded to the American abolitionists. Slavery existed in its most painful form in the United States. He traced the commencement of slavery, upwards of two hundred years ago, in these states, when they were under the British flag. He furnished some interesting details relative to the gallant conduct of the slaves during the revolutionary war. He next noticed in indignant terms the opposition to free discussion in America on the subject of slavery. Mr. Scoble, he said, had, however, been heard with attention, and there were 1500 anti-slavery associations in the states. A school was also commenced, into which the black man and the white man were admitted together. The place, such was the opposition, was in a dense and remote forest near Lake Erie. The speaker expressed his gratitude for the kindness with which he, as a member of a deputation from the American states, had been received in England, and rejoiced in the brotherhood of his countrymen and the British public in the cause in which they had mutually embarked. He doubted not but

their combined exertions would result in victory. The motion was carried unanimously.

Dr. Raffles, in an eloquent address, moved the next resolution, opposing the proposed introduction of Hill Coolies into the Mauritius.

The motion was unanimously agreed to, as also a petition founded upon it.

Thanks were then voted to the chairman, and the meeting broke up.

LETTER OF THE REV. W. BEVAN.

To the Editor of the *Liverpool Standard*.

SIR,—Having observed in the *Standard* of Tuesday last, some lengthened strictures upon the proceedings of the late meeting of the Liverpool Anti-Slavery Society, permit me to request that you will afford room in your forthcoming publication, for the correction of certain misapprehensions and inaccuracies in the article to which I refer.

It is inquired by the writer, as "the ostensible object of the meeting, was 'to take into consideration the duty of the friends of the negro, with reference to the present state of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world,'" "Why was the subject of the *British colonies in the West Indies introduced into the discussion?"* The vast importance which attaches to the successful issue of the experiment of emancipation, in connexion with the discussion of the general question of slavery, is of itself sufficient to warrant the most searching inquiry into the progress, and a constant recurrence to the results of that experiment. Besides, the events which have occurred in those colonies in the working out of the great physical and moral transition, have not been of a nature to justify any relaxation of the supervision which is necessary on the part of this country to the satisfactory establishment of the negro's rights. Further, it was incumbent on those to whom the management of the meeting was committed, to review all that had been done in the struggle and the triumph of the two years that had elapsed since the members of the society were convened, and to state the measures that had been adopted for the purpose of demonstrating to other nations, yet contaminated with the sin of slave-holding, the propriety and expediency (confirmatory of the justice) of abolishing the system.

The report noticed the attempted revival of the Hill Coolie traffic. Documents are now before me (some of them are before the public—others of them shall not long remain unpublished) from courts of justice in India, and from commissions of inquiry in British Guiana and Mauritius, which furnish ground for the apprehensions entertained, that, if the projects of certain parties had not been suppressed by the government, a traffic no less to be deprecated, because no less unjust and cruel than the slave-trade would have threatened thousands of helpless victims.

The remainder of the report furnished a comprehensive sketch of the present state of slavery and the slave-trade in various quarters of the globe.

After most deliberate reflection, I am unable to discover on what part of the proceedings of the meeting, as reported in the *Standard* of Friday last, the writer of that article will fix for proof of the insinuated charge of "the most relentless persecution" of the planters.

The writer further observes—"Mr. Scoble said, that, during his recent visit to the West Indies, 'he had found that commerce flourished—that trade was never in a more healthy condition than at the present time.' From this sweeping assertion, we might infer that there had been for the last two years no deficiency in the amount of exports from the West Indies. Is this the fact?" Now, had the writer of that article taken the trouble of referring to your own report of the meeting, he would have found that Mr. Scoble's statement was contrary to his own hypothetical inference, and fatal to the ungenerous implication it involves. In that report, Mr. Scoble is represented as having before him an official document giving the total amount of sugar exported during the past year, as compared with preceding years. "Looking at the whole of the colonies, the amount was 698,000 cwts. less as compared with 1838, and 483,000 cwts. as compared with 1837." In another journal, Mr. Scoble is reported to have "quoted two despatches from the governor of British Guiana, both alluding to the extensive injury done by the drought." "He also mentioned, as within his own knowledge, various estates on which the canes had yielded less last year, in consequence of the drought, than was expected. In one instance, from 10 acres of canes were expected 10 hhds., but had only produced 7; in another, 80 acres yielded only 35 hhds., when 80 were expected; on a third, 102 acres only furnished about 65 hhds. Thus they would perceive, that the falling off in the amount of the crops last year was not owing to the indolence of the negroes, but to the ordinances of providence."

That the reason assigned for the deficiency by the report and by Mr. Scoble was not unfounded, will appear from the authority of governor Light:—

In a despatch of April 26, 1839, the governor says:—"The season, which had been excessively favourable at the beginning of the year, and gave promise of large return, has not for upwards of 72 days had a respite from excessive drought; the consequence has been, that the savannahs, creeks, or lakes have been dried up; the trenches having no supply had been exhausted, and the canes have been left uncut from the impossibility of conveyance to the works. This, then, is the chief cause of the failure, and not the idleness of the peasantry, to which some of the planters are disposed to ascribe it."

In an address to the combined court on the 19th February, 1839, the governor says:—"We have no right to ascribe to emancipation the deficiency of staple products since the 1st of August. If exportable produce be diminished in quantity, it has increased in value; if the planter do not obtain full labour, yet his payments on that point are lessened."

In a despatch from Governor Light, dated October 15, 1839, he notices the quantity of sugar shipped during the third quarter of that year—"It is considerably less than in the corresponding quarters of 1831-32-33; it is in hogsheads 2765 less than the corresponding quarter last year, but the price of produce has increased in proportion to the diminution of the crop. It is a fact, that from the unfavourable season during a portion of the year the canes have yielded ONE-THIRD LESS THAN USUAL; the last quarter of the year, considering the favourable season for the last month, is likely to give a much larger return. I shall be prepared to show by the prices of the last twelve or fifteen years, that even supposing the exports of sugar for the year 1839, from this colony only, reach 35,000 hogsheads; the

returns in money will be larger than when the produce was at its greatest extent."

As to the imports into the colonies, it will be sufficient to quote the same high authority in a dispatch of May last. Governor Light says,

"The increasing demands of British Guiana for manufactured goods and other supplies have occasioned an additional tonnage inwards of 10,618 as compared with that of the year 1836, and of 4270 tons as compared with that of the year 1837."

And again,

"It is presumed that the real decrease in the outward tonnage is about 10,000 tons in 1838 as compared with 1837, and this decrease is no greater than the result of the last year rendered probable."

"I trust these remarks will enable your lordship to judge of the real grounds for the outcry made by interested persons against the diminishing resources of this colony."

Accordingly he addressed the combined council in these terms.

"It could not have been expected that internal commerce could probably long withstand any great diminution of exportable produce. That the merchants do not anticipate this, is proved by the numerous stores established in all parts of the colony where they were before unknown; and though those articles formerly wholesale to the planter are now no longer required, yet equal, if not greater trade takes place under a new form. You will agree with me that George Town presents few symptoms of anticipated ruin."

These extracts, confirmatory both of the report and of the proceedings of the meeting, are sufficient to produce conviction in every candid mind.

Let an equitable and benevolent system of management be established in that and other colonies, and the testimony of Governor Light with regard to some estates will soon become true of all—"Where tact, judgment, and conciliation have exhibited a corresponding feeling, steady labour has been obtained." I am, sir, yours &c.,

WILLIAM BEVAN.

April 23, 1840.

MR. SEMPLE'S LETTER TO MR. CROPPER.

Liverpool, 20th April, 1840.

DEAR SIR,—Agreeably to your request, I beg to hand you a copy of Mr. William Laing's declaration, (signed in presence of yourself, Mr. Bevan, and Mr. Scoble), of amount of wages paid by himself to labourers in Berbice. This document and the others you and Messrs. Bevan and Scoble have seen at my office, prove that labourers in general (in that colony) can earn, if they choose to work, three guilders per diem, and that some do earn more than three guilders a-day.

So far I am justified in having contradicted Mr. Scoble at the anti-slavery meeting, when he so expressed himself as to make it appear that a guilder was the full amount of a day's labour in British Guiana; but I was wrong in so expressing myself, as to seem to assert that the labourers in that colony were in the habit of earning, at least, on the estates in which I have an interest, three guilders a-day. No man knows better than Mr. Scoble himself, that the negroes do not choose to earn as much as they can—that sometimes they only do half-a-day's work—that sometimes they work for a week or two, and then idle for a week or two. The fact that they can at pleasure work in this desultory manner is the best proof that they enjoy superior advantages, in point of remuneration, to European labourers.

Supposing that they choose only to earn a guilder a day, these wages together with the advantages of having their cottages rent free, and medical attendance provided them, and in many instances education for their children, amounts to much more in substantial value than any wages paid to agricultural labourers in any part of Europe. This may be very easily proved.

I have the honour to be, dear sir, your most obedient servant,
To John Cropper, Esq.

ROBERT SEMPLE.

MR. LAING'S DECLARATION.

"I, William Laing, of the county of Berbice, in the colony of British Guiana, planter, do hereby solemnly and sincerely declare, that I, together with others, am the owner of the estate Friends and Mara, in Germania, in the said colony; and that, on the 1st day of August, 1838, I was the superintending manager of the said estates, and that the following was the scale of wages I proposed to the labourers on the said estates, namely, one guilder for the task of work termed the seven and a half hours' task, which is easily performed by industrious men and women in from four to five hours; many of the labourers on the said estates having often, in a day, performed treble the quantity, for which they received three guilders, and occasionally even more so, as to earn from four to five guilders per day; and, in addition to these wages, they were allowed houses, all framed cottages with two floors, as much provision ground as they choose to cultivate for their own benefit, medical attendance, medicine, and tuition, gratuitously; and in order to encourage them to be industrious and to remain continuously at work, every one who had finished six days' work received, weekly, one bunch of plantains, or fivepounds of rice and one pound and a half of salt fish, some rum and sugar, gratis, and frequently a little pork and tobacco were also allowed, and they were encouraged to rear poultry, hogs, and vegetables for their own benefit. And I make this solemn declaration, conscientiously believing the same to be true, by virtue of the statute in this behalf made and provided."

The above declaration was solemnly made and subscribed by the said William Laing, at Liverpool, in England, this 18th day of April, 1840, before me,

(Signed) WILLIAM LAING.

MR. SCOBLE'S LETTER TO MR. CROPPER.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter of the 24th inst., with its enclosures—a letter from Mr. Robert Semple, dated the 20th inst., and a declaration of his partner, Mr. Laing, on the subject of labour and wages in Guiana, has reached me; and, I regret to say, the contents of these papers are such as to make it incumbent upon me to reply to them at length.

After the interview I had with Mr. Semple at which you and the Rev.

Mr. Bevan were present, and the apparently ingenuous manner in which he lamented that, under the excitement of the moment, he should have made statements in contradiction to mine calculated to mislead the public on the matter at issue between us, I regret that he should have fallen back on the justification which that letter contains. When he spoke of that "tenderness of conscience" which led him to return to the Anti-Slavery meeting, unfortunately too late for the purpose of correcting the serious error into which he had fallen, notwithstanding his expectation that he should be hoisted and hissed for so doing, I gave him credit for upright intentions; when he further stated that he had written a note to you as the chairman of that meeting, expressing his sorrow for what had occurred, but which note had not reached you, in consequence of the injudicious counsels of one of your friends to whom it had been shown, I felt it would be ungenerous in me to pursue the matter further, especially as I expected from him, as the sequel to our interview, a letter to you containing an admission of his error, and an expression of regret that it had occurred. I have been deceived. Mr. Semple has refused to do me justice; and has allowed the pro-slavery papers in Liverpool—the *Mail* and the *Standard*—to apply the most opprobrious epithets to me under the sanction of his name, and, as I must now believe, with his full concurrence.

The charge brought against me by Mr. Semple at the Anti-slavery meeting held in our town on the 16th inst., was that I had understated the amount of wages paid to the labourers in British Guiana for the ordinary day's labour. My statement was, that for an ordinary day's labour, fixed by a tariff or scale by the planters themselves at the commencement of the apprenticeship system, and continued since the period of complete emancipation, the wages paid was one guilder. This Mr. Semple rudely and peremptorily denied, and asserted that he paid three guilders. I referred then in proof of my assertion, to the parliamentary papers I had with me; but still Mr. Semple maintained the truth of his averment, and added, that three guilders *per diem* "was the minimum of each negro's earnings upon the estates with which he was concerned, and challenged an investigation of his books in proof of his statement. His books were examined, and the opposite of his statement was found to be true. So far from each negro earning three guilders *per diem*, it was ascertained that, out of a gang of about 120 on plantation *Mara*, in Berbice, there were not more than five whose earnings amounted, during either the months of November and December 1839, and of January 1840, to more than thirty guilders per month, or little more than a guilder *per diem*, whilst all the rest were under that amount, some very considerably so indeed. So much for the proof.

Previously to my having visited Mr. Semple, I had again referred to the parliamentary papers, No. 151, 1840, and found on pp. 48 and 50, a letter from the house of R. Semple and Co., dated Liverpool, 25th November, 1839, in which my general statement finds ample corroboration. They say, "one guilder, equal to 1s. 6d. (rather to 1s. 4½d sterling—a guilder being the third part of a dollar, the sterling value of which is fixed at 4s. 2d.) for the task of work termed the seven and a-half hours task," in other words, the day's labour as fixed by the tariff, without allowing for the time necessarily taken up in going to and returning from labour, which is sometimes considerable, the estates in that colony being from two to six miles in depth. They further say, in a subsequent paragraph of their letter, "and to encourage them (the labourers) to be industrious, and to remain continuously at work, every one who finishes six days' work, that is six tasks as regulated by the tariff, one each day, receives weekly one bunch of plantains," or some other equivalent as an extra reward for the same. It is material to observe here, that, as Messrs. Semple and Co. had previously stated the value of the ordinary day's labour to be one guilder, so they have applied the same words to designate the amount of work regulated by the tariff as I have done—they call it a "day's work." It is also quite clear that they consider their people to be industrious when they perform the task required by the tariff. And thus I am perfectly justified by the very party on whose authority I am pronounced to be "a tricking trader in falsehood,"—"a liar"—and the greatest enemy of the colonies! I might have added the further testimonies of Governor Light, and of Lord John Russell on the same subject, but as I quoted them at the meeting, it is unnecessary that I should do more than merely advert to them here.

As to the question whether any or all the negro freemen in Guiana, can perform more than one task in the day, that is a mere matter of opinion, and must depend entirely on a variety of circumstances, such as the nature of the work—the soil of the estate—the condition of the fields—distance from the buildings—weather—and the skill, strength, and activity of the workman. Mr. Semple said, that all his people performed three tasks daily for which they obtained three guilders each, besides perquisites; and that the three tasks could be performed easily in less than twelve hours. In this, however, he has been proved to have grossly exaggerated, both by his own admissions, and by the papers he exhibited to us at our interview with him; and in this, as we have already seen, he has been contradicted by the evidence of the letter addressed by the house of which he is the head to Lord John Russell, and by the subsequent declaration of his partner, Mr. Laing. Here is the latter gentleman's declaration: "the following was the scale of wages I proposed to the labourers on said estates"—viz. *Mara* and the *Friends*,—"one guilder for the task of work termed the seven hours and a-half task, which," he adds, "is easily performed by industrious men and women, in from four to five hours. Many—not all, as was asserted by Mr. Semple—of the labourers on the said estates, having often in a day performed treble the quantity for which they received three guilders, and occasionally, even more, so as to earn from four to five guilders per day." Now let us take it for granted that the task required by the tariff can be performed in four hours and a-half by an industrious negro, it would take nine hours to perform two tasks; thirteen hours and a-half to perform three tasks; eighteen hours to perform four tasks; and twenty-two hours and a-half to get through five tasks, so as to secure the five guilders spoken of by Mr. Laing. The extreme period of day-light at any time of the year in Guiana is scarcely more than twelve hours, and sometimes less, so that an industrious labourer, to earn his three guilders, must actually be in the field one hour and a-half daily longer than he has light to work by, without allowing himself a single moment for rest or for meals, during that long period of thirteen hours and a-half of toil, in darkness, or under the blaze of a tropical sun; or without reckoning the time he must occupy in going to or returning from his labour, which varies from one to three hours, according to distance!

In the document shown to us by Mr. Semple, we found in a few instances, say four or five, that negroes had earned occasionally as much as three guilders per day on plantation *Mara*, but the nature of the work performed, was not specified. It did not appear whether these men had been employed in cutting new canals, or in the boiling-house, or as tradesmen under specific agreements for labour not provided for in the tariff, and, therefore they could not be quoted as justifying Mr. Laing in his declaration, that "many of the labourers on the said estates had often in a day performed treble the quantity required by the tariff, for which they received three guilders," any more than Mr. Laing's many could justify Mr. Semple's all. Besides which, Mr. Laing had the candour to inform me, in answer to my inquiries, that new canals had certainly been cut on the estates, and that, in reference to the ordinary business of the plantations, the practice of doubling the wages of the people had been resorted to after they had performed a certain amount of work in the day, to induce them to go on.

I may just add, that the day's labour expected from the immigrants who have been introduced into Guiana, whether Portuguese, Maltese, Coolies, or negroes, is the same in amount with that set out in the tariff, and that, if that amount be performed, the planters are fully satisfied, as well they might be!

On the causes which have led to deficiency of the crops, in that colony, last year, it is quite unnecessary that I should say one word after the conclusive letter of the Rev. Mr. Bevan, which appeared in the *Mercury* of the 24th inst., and the remarks which I made on that point at the meeting; but it may be proper that, as the accuracy of my statement on the subject of the increased size of the hogsheads has been disputed by some and positively denied by others, I should give the data on which it rests: I have before me a statement drawn up by Mr. John S. Kewley, dated Liverpool, 31st December, 1839, which gives the number of hogsheads of sugar which have been imported into this country from the West India colonies from 1829 to 1839 inclusive; and the official statement of the same staple given in hundred weights for the same period. By comparing these with each other, my statement will be found strictly true. For instance, in 1829, the imports according to Kewley, were 271,700 hhd. according to government 3,764,383 cwt.—1833. 238,000 hhd.: 3,646,204 cwt.: 1836.—225,850 hhd.: 3,601,791 cwt.: and 1839.—179,800 hhd.:—2,822,872 cwt. It will thus be seen that the hogsheads increased in bulk between 1829 and 1839 nearly two cwt. each, or full one seventh; and that 225,850 hhd. in 1836, carried nearly as much sugar as 238,000 hhd. did in 1833! These figures will speak for themselves; and will show our friends the necessity of demanding from the West Indians, when they talk of the great diminution in the number of hogsheads of sugar which have been exported from the colonies since emancipation has taken place, as compared with the good old days of slavery, what has been the actual decrease in hundred weights. In my speech at Liverpool I stated the actual decrease, and I challenge disproof of its truth, as of all other statements I publicly make on matters at issue, between the abolitionists and the West Indians. Their abuse and calumnies I despise, their want of prudence and foresight I lament, and I can assure the more wise and honest portion of them that they will always have my hearty co-operation in any measures, the object of which may be the real welfare and happiness both of themselves and of their people.

I am dear Sir,

TO JOHN CROPPER, Esq.

J. SCOBLE.

Colonial and Foreign Intelligence.

WEST INDIES.

JAMAICA.—The subscriptions among the peasantry for the memorial to Sir Lionel Smith, is expected to amount to Five Hundred Pounds.

ST. LUCIA.—The late charge of the chief justice of this island to the assessors of the royal court, affords the following satisfactory extract:—"I now proceed to direct your attention to the more immediate object of our meeting in this hall, viz., the state of the calendar: and here again, there is fresh subject of congratulation for us all. Attribute the great diminution of crime (particularly of the more heinous offences,) to what you may, the fact is indisputable, that there has been a great diminution of crime amongst the people; the wayward and savage passions, the rude revenge, which manifest themselves amongst the lower classes of society in every community, have displayed themselves here much less frequently than heretofore. Since the apprenticeship ceased, we have had (with one single and sad exception,) neither the atrocities nor the wild vengeance of former times to repress and deplore. All the jealousy of mastership, on the one side, all the impatience of restraint and turbulence which mastership, as it existed, gave birth to on the other,—have passed away, nor most fortunately in this island left a trace of bad feeling or exasperation behind; all the dissensions and evil passions of a former state of things having been lost in the gratitude and fruition of the present.

"It would not be fitting from this place to discuss the general question of the negro character, his capacity or his abilities but certainly a more contented, peaceful, and well disposed race than the population of this island can no where be met with. That they are not all industrious, that they have not all found out their own true and best interests, that they have not all yet learned that the chief charm of existence in every rank of life is to be found in well apportioned, and active, and useful exertion of body and mind,—or that the destiny of man on this earth is to gain "his bread by the sweat of his brow," may be fairly laid more to their misfortune than their fault,—to the former system of slavery and its consequences,—to the want of proper and patient instruction, and oftentimes to the want of proper management on the part of those whom Providence has placed in a higher grade of society. And if labour has in some instances been directed into other hands, or from circumstances into other channels than formerly, there cannot be a doubt but that the number of labourers now at work on your rich and beautiful valleys, and the amount of labour performed by them in the aggregate, is not less than during any period of the apprenticeship, or proportionally of former times. Give, then, your peasantry the same encouragement and opportunities, and the same training which others have had in more favoured islands, and you will not find them either falter or fail, and under a bountiful providence you may speedily enjoy a prosperity which you have not yet known."

BRITISH GUIANA. We copy from the *Times* the following instructive extract of a letter from Demerara, dated March 4, 1840. "The close of the last year has exhibited a considerable falling off in our sugar-crops, as you will observe, and the decrease is, of course, to be greatly attributed (though not altogether) to the want of labour. Not altogether, because the unprecedented dry season up to May, 1839, and the absence of the usual rains of December, January and February preceding, are very important causes to be considered in accounting for this decrease. You are mistaken in thinking that I am less sanguine in my hopes for this colony's future prosperity; they are not even damped by the small crop of last year, more especially as we are now bestirring ourselves with every prospect of success in emigration, as I will presently inform you.

"I can tell you this fact, not yet public, that the surplus of the customs to be paid into the colonial treasury for 1839 is nearly £16,000 (while that of 1838 was £8000 odd,) nearly double, and every source of internal taxation has given greatly more than was calculated, in many cases twice as much. Again, had it not been for the conduct of our combined court last year, who, with a mixture of folly and selfishness, cried out ruin, and acted in their cheese-paring, penny-wise, pound-foolish economy, as if they really believed the cry, we might (as Trinidad has) have got 3000 or 4000 emigrants, and thus made a large crop; but when they asked to be allowed to apply large sums of money to be raised by internal taxation to emigration, they were told by the secretary of state that they had declared by their acts their inability to provide for the first exigencies of society, and that they had no surplus revenue, which could alone be legitimately applied to external purposes, if these first exigencies of society were first provided for.

"I do most sanguinely anticipate increasing prosperity, and I would at this moment buy a sugar estate, could I get an advance of capital; shortly they will not be to be had on the same terms, as the moment the stream of emigration sets towards our shores the value of property will increase 50 per cent.

"In the absence of permission to apply any of the public funds to emigration, and on the receipt in December last of letters from our fellow-colonists in the United States, we called a public meeting, and organized a society for the purpose of emigration, to be supported in the mean time, and until the embargo on the public funds for that purpose is removed, by voluntary subscription. We have received subscriptions to the amount of nearly £6000; have forwarded to our agent in the United States, £1500 for the fitting out vessels for conveyance of the free coloured population to this colony, and are now daily expecting advices from him. In the mean time, and without waiting to hear of the proceedings here, our agent prevailed on the coloured population of Baltimore and state of Maryland to send two deputies chosen at a great public meeting to report on the state of this colony, its condition, soil and natural productions, and on the social and political rights of coloured men; they have been here six weeks, have been all over the colony, and are now about to depart in a day or two, with expressions of satisfaction as to the result of their inquiries; and if their report to their constituents corresponds with their expressed opinions here, we may look for emigration in numbers. The disallowance of the restrictive law of Barbados has opened that source, and we have now in the river fifty-two emigrant labourers, and many more expected. The population there is in a very distressed and disturbed state; they are overpopulated, and their wages are consequently too small, and in the event of short crop there, as is the case, much of the population are actually out of employment."

For some reason or other, the good people of this colony are rapidly eating up their own words. The following direct confirmation of all that the abolitionists have ever said is found in a late number of the *Guiana Royal Gazette*.

"The arguments used by the philanthropists in favour of the slandered Africans have in many cases, even in this colony, received a strong practical corroboration; for, notwithstanding that we must confess that there are still some whose characters have not justified the hopes of their friends, yet it is well known that the examples of civilization, morality, religion, and political refinement, which many saw in their days of bonds and coercion, have had the most salutary effects upon their lives and manners since; and these effects, as every proprietor, and every clergyman, and every man of observation throughout the colony can testify, have become more and more visible since the period at which the labourers were put in possession of the means of shewing them. So that it is satisfactory to know that, after all we have heard—after all the murmurings of doubt and despair that have rung in our ears, and after we have been stunned and terrified with the cries of bankruptcy and abandonment, the real cases of vagrancy and entire relinquishment of labour are only exceptions and not the common course of things.

"It is the opinion of every prudent and moderate man who has the management of labourers and of property, that a spice of mildness and conciliation introduced into the treatment of the workers would go far to induce even the most refractory and lazy to return to habits of industry. A stranger previously to the first of August, 1838, who had an opportunity of consulting the various statements made by some of the old colonists, wherein they affirmed that the whole of our peasantry in a body would after freedom betake themselves to the woods, and finally abandon the walks of civilization, and who would now survey the dwellings of the industrious labourers upon the estates, and therein see the comforts with which they are surrounded, and recognise in their dwellings the abodes of comparative refinement and religion, could not fail to discover that those gloomy predictions were founded upon prejudice, and not upon reason. Facts are every day coming in to annihilate the strong bias that seemed to have possession of the minds of some against the industrious character of our labourers; and now that we have had twenty months of the experience of complete freedom, in the course of this time, with only some exceptions, the hopes of the friends of the Africans have been confirmed, while the fears of their enemies have been in a proportionate degree disappointed. Those who have adopted the mild and conciliatory course have found it to answer well, while such as commenced with harsh and unamiable measures have been fain to abandon them, and to proceed upon a course of mildness. If this latter plan were universally adopted, and such measures taken as would ensure the services in the field of the rising generation, it would very much reduce the necessity for emigration from other countries."

NECESSITY, as the proverb has it, is the mother of invention. And so, as we are very glad to see, a machine has really been invented which, in the stead of human beings, will dig canals among the sugar estates of Demerara. We take the account of this blessed improvement from the *Royal Gazette*.

"The very extraordinary, ingenious, and novel system of cultivating and draining our estates by the application of machinery to agricultural purposes, has opened a new era in our colonial prospects. The canal excavator, for the invention and introduction of which the colony is indebted to the mechanical ingenuity and the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Francis Hoard, will of itself be equal to the placing of twenty thousand labourers on our estates, and the furnishing of each of them with a shovel. The effective operation of this machine is now no longer doubtful. Its powers have already been amply tested in the presence of numerous competent judges. This canal excavator is intended as a pioneer, to make way for the application of machinery to the general purposes of agriculture, as soon as it shall have been so extensively employed as to meet the necessities of the colony in point of drainage. It is Mr. Hoard's intention to apply machinery also to the upturning of the soil, and to the planting of the canes. For this purpose he has already invented a steam plough, or, as he technically denominates it, the *Cane Cultivator*."

AFRICAN INSTITUTE.—We give insertion to the following letter, agreeing with the writer that the facts stated require publicity; and because, by having quoted the paragraph referred to from an English journal, we in some sort attracted attention to the association in question. We cannot afford Mr. Turnbull the information he requires, as we know nothing of the society beyond its name.

"TO THE EDITOR OF GALIGNANI'S MESSENGER."

"Place Bréda, No. 29, 29th April."

"SIR,—Finding it stated in the *Messenger* that the Rev. Dr. Woulf had accepted the office of Vice-President of 'the African Institute,' I take the liberty of inquiring whether you can furnish me with any clue to the discovery of this institution. When in London the other day, I learned from Sir Lionel Smith, and several other distinguished friends of the African race, that they had been offered diplomas conferring on them high-sounding titles in the so-called *Institut d'Afrique*, accompanied by demands of money, ingeniously graduated from 1000 francs down to a single Napoleon; and, without a doubt having arisen as to the existence of such an association, I was requested to ascertain and communicate its nature and objects, together with its prospects of usefulness. I take the liberty of enclosing a letter addressed to myself, bearing the number 849, announcing my election as a 'vice-president d'honneur.' As a head-piece to this letter you will find the names of no less than five presidents, a duke, a marquis, an admiral, a lieutenant-general, and one of his majesty's aides-de-camp. On referring for information to one of these distinguished individuals, I received for answer, to my very great surprise, that even he was not aware of the existence of such an institution. The leading friends of negro emancipation in this city with whom I have had occasion to communicate on the subject of the great anti-slavery conference, which is to take place in London in the month of June, appear to be all just as little informed on the subject. Now, as a considerable sum of money has been collected in England, and has already found its way to this country, I submit that it is your duty to give all possible publicity to the facts, sustaining the society if it deserves to be sustained, and giving it to the winds if it proves to be a bubble. Attention should be directed in the proper quarter to the concluding paragraph of the inclosed letter:—'En conséquence de votre réponse, j'aurai l'honneur de vous faire adresser votre diplôme par voie d'ambassade.' I am, sir, etc.,

"D. TURNBULL."

We received the enclosures above referred to, which bear out the description given of them by Mr. Turnbull, but we do not deem it requisite to publish them.—*Galignani*.

Correspondence.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

St. Croix, Jan. 20th, 1840.

GENTLEMEN,—I have thought that the statement of a few incidents connected with a voyage from Jamaica to St. Thomas's and this island, might not be altogether uninteresting to your readers, and which I take an opportunity of sending.

We left Port Royal, Jamaica, on the 5th ultimo, in H. M. steam packet, *Hecla*, and on the 6th arrived at St. Jago de Cuba. The town lies at the end of a deep bay with a very narrow entrance, commanded by strong fortifications and a castle called *El Morro*. With other passengers were the Revs. Messrs. Parkyns and Blythman, of the Wesleyan Association body, also the Rev. Mr. Bird of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, with his family going to Cape Haitien. As we were informed that there would be no obstruction in the way of passengers landing, and no passport required provided we intended proceeding with the vessel, Mr. Bird and myself went on shore, and after satisfying our curiosity returned to the ship, hoping to prosecute our voyage. In going through the harbour we grounded on a bank, which, though it happily proved to be only clay, yet detained us from Monday until Friday. The circumstances which came under my observation during the interval are those which have mainly led me to communicate with you.

On Tuesday, Mr. Bird and myself revisited the city. At one of the stores we met a black man who spoke English well. I inquired from whence he came; he told me that he was brought from Jamaica about five years before, and sold by his master to a person in Cuba, to his lasting sorrow.

At the same time that we were on shore, some persons went from the town to the ship. Among others, a person whose name I heard was Hanna, and who acts as clerk and translator to Mr. Wright, the English consul, during the absence of Mr. Hardy the consul. This person made himself familiar with a fellow-passenger, of whom he inquired particulars about all the passengers, and when told that Mr. Bird and myself were on shore, remarked that, had he known the previous day who we were, he would have "taken care that we should have been first tarred and feathered, and sent back with six inches of steel in us!!"

On Thursday, after several attempts had failed to lighten the ship so as to get her afloat, the commander intimated that as far as the passengers were concerned he feared the voyage was ended, and requested us all to

seek lodging on shore, and get forward as we could. We then learned by a person from the consul's office, that not only would passports be required, but also security, and that he himself did not believe that any security would be accepted for any missionary, or person connected with any religious society in England. That the least we had to expect would be imprisonment until we could be sent away, and he advised us that on no consideration should we trust ourselves on shore until he had communicated with Mr. Wright. Mr. Wright I was told replied, that on no account ought we to leave the ship. Happily for us, while under circumstances of considerable excitement, a renewed effort was made to get the vessel off, which proved successful, and we once more floated, to the no small relief of our anxious minds. A prison in St. Jago de Cuba, which I believe to be as unhealthy as any town in the West Indies, or a remittance as prisoners to Havannah, to wait the pleasure of the governor-general, and with the quasi sort of protection which I had every reason to believe we should have received from Mr. Wright, the acting consul, himself, as I was very distinctly informed, both by the captains of English merchant vessels, and also by a native of the town, a proprietor of estates with at least 300 slaves, presented prospects by no means cheering, and we felt happy to be in the hands of God and not of man. I was also informed that Mr. Hardy, the British consul, now in England as director of the mining company of St. Jago, is directly identified with the employment of very large bodies of slaves in the worst of all work. But slaves in law are cattle, and n'importe, their loss is easily supplied. Two or three tons of copper ore will replace any loss of slave life.

We had the assistance of the crews of the English vessels in the harbour, as well as of about 50 slaves, to take the coals out of our ship to lighten her off. [Captain Richardson of the brig Sarepta, of Swansea, told me that he brought out about 40 miners from Cornwall, who were each supplied with bibles by the British and Foreign Bible Society. They were, said he, mostly religious men; and when they landed their bibles were taken away and burned, and now they are not permitted any two of them to worship together. He also said to me, "My crew are all religious, and I have services regularly. I was warned by the authorities to desist, and I said plainly that I would not offend their religion while on shore, nor would I suffer interference with me or my crew on board." Captain Galloway of the "Jim Crow," told me he had a brown man on board. The authorities demanded him to be given up. He replied, "He would not yield him up but to superior force." In both instances, no further steps were taken. A passenger from Jamaica, informed me also, that when he applied for a passport to the Cuba consul there for a friend, he was asked, whether his friend or his servant were either of them coloured, and if the friend were a missionary, as in either case would a passport not be given.

We arrived at Cape Haitien on Sunday, where Mr. Bird is now stationed. As our vessel only remained a few hours, it was necessary to land all the baggage, a matter of some difficulty, the custom house being closed. As a thing of course we applied to Mr. Thompson the British consul, but we unfortunately found him too busy to pay us any attention. Happily I was acquainted with an American coloured resident, and he went with us to the colonel-commandant of the city. By him we were received with a courtesy strongly in contrast with that we had just experienced; every assistance was at once afforded, and all difficulties removed, and I found one proof added to many others that a polished gentleman may have a sable skin; and on the other hand, that there may be official importance with little dignity and less grace.

Passing along the coast of Porto Rico we saw a very suspicious looking schooner. Our commander would, I think, have willingly taken charge of her, had she on inspection proved a slave vessel; but the treatment of Lieutenant Potbury of the Flamer, who captured a slaver under similar circumstances, was quite a sufficient lesson to him to confine himself to his own course; and I had the melancholy feeling that possibly in a few hours some scores of human beings were consigned to the mercies of Spanish planters, who might otherwise, and with less than an hour's delay, have been under British protection.

We landed at St. Thomas's on the 15th. There was a public sale in the principal street. The bill specified a quantity of dry goods, also a fine young negro, a shoe-maker, and warrant to be sold for no fault whatever. On taking up a St. Croix newspaper, I found an advertisement offering for sale a washerwoman and two other negroes.

The Danes are vividly alive to the question of emancipation, but talk much of the justice of compensation. I trust the government at Copenhagen is also alive to the question of freedom. It is thought that the governor-general of these islands, General Von Scholter, now at home, will bring back with him some plan for the general instruction of the people. Much has been broken through within two years. A Sunday school in which slaves are taught is now established in St. Thomas's under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Labagh; and the Rev. B. Luchoch of St. Croix, (English Episcopal clergyman,) has two connected with his congregation, in which there are 900 scholars, and several infant schools on the estates, with the knowledge though not under the sanction of government. I remain, your obedient servant,

J. W.

ENGLISH SLAVEHOLDERS.

UNDER this title we inserted in a late number some just remarks by the editor of the *Mining Journal*, occasioned by a letter to him from Mr. Turnbull, on the "live stock," (?) held by a Spanish mining company. The subject is too important, however, to be passed over with so slight a notice, and we resume it to-day by presenting to our readers some extracts from Mr. Turnbull's recent work on Cuba, for which we entreat the most serious consideration.

"I believe it is perfectly understood, that every foreign merchant at the Havana, and at the other sea-ports of the island, has an interest more or less direct in the maintenance of the slave-trade; as if striving to prove how nearly they could approach the limit of the law without an actual infringement of it: *Quam prope ad crimen sine crimine*. There are some merchants, however, who unhappily do not content themselves with that indirect interest which arises from the ordinary commercial profit on the goods they may sell, but who actually agree to furnish an outward-bound slaver with supplies for the coast of Africa, on the condition of receiving payment on the usual credit for the prime cost of the goods, while his mer-

cantile profit is made to depend on the return of the ship, and the success of the homeward voyage. In this way the spirit of gaming which uniformly pervades these slaving transactions may be safely indulged in,—at least without any obvious pecuniary risk; and in fact, it is not difficult, from the vast variety of shapes that the trade has assumed, for a person on the spot either to steep himself to the eyes in the abominations of the traffic, or stealthily draw off a more moderate portion of the polluted stream. It grieves me to the heart to be compelled to add that some of our own countrymen are tempted by the monstrous profits to enter more or less deeply into those speculations. I think I shall never forget the tell-tale countenance of a simple Irishman at the Havana, when, perhaps for the first time, his attention was drawn to the criminal nature of the enterprise in which he had indirectly engaged. Having made some money by keeping a retail shop for the supply of the shipping in the harbour, he had been induced to engage in a speculation of this sort, by which he expected to double or treble his ordinary profits. His answers to my inquiries having produced an exclamation which was not, perhaps, over courteous, he asked in a tone of alarm—"Why, what harm is there in it; what risk do I run?" To which the prompt reply was given by a countryman of his, who happened to be with me at the time,—"Only the risk of being hanged if ever you set your foot in Ireland again."

"There is another class of our countrymen, however, who have much more to answer for than this poor Irish shopkeeper in their wholesale disregard of the first principles of humanity. I fear it is not to be doubted, that there are men of large capital in the British metropolis who lay out their money at the large interest which the slave-trader can afford to pay; and it is within my knowledge, that certain individuals of immense wealth, who, although bearing a foreign patronymic, are to all intents and purposes British subjects, who, not content with risking their money to secure this high rate of interest, have actually stipulated on becoming sleeping partners in one of the most notorious slaving-houses at the Havana, the better to enable them, as they fondly imagine, to bring their French and Spanish partners to account. Even on the Spanish territory, however, such transactions are no further obligatory than the laws of honour prescribe; and although it has sometimes been said that there may be honour among thieves, I believe it will be found, in the case referred to, that there has not been much among slavers."—*Travels in the West*, pp. 139, 141.

"The Cuba proprietors are regaining their lost ground by the introduction of steam-boats, and the construction of railways; and I fear that those of our capitalists who, tempted by the high rate of interest, have lent their money to the colonial government of the island for the purpose of defraying the expense of making the railway to Guines, have not sufficiently reflected on the baneful consequences of their proceeding. Every shilling of English capital laid out in the island, either in the extension of cultivation or the cheapening of produce, serves to fetter some poor negro in the interior of Africa, or to rivet the chains of those now toiling in the cane-fields or the sugar-houses of Cuba. The holders of shares in the Brazilian Mining Companies are still more directly connected with the slave-trade. It is well known that the mines of that country are worked by slave-labour; so that every shareholder is not only a slave owner, but, by the purchases of newly imported Africans which are constantly made by the managers of the company, becomes a most efficient promoter and encourager of the slave-trade. If those ladies and gentlemen 'who live at home at ease' were only to witness some portion of the enormities committed by means of their money, and to promote their advantage, they would spurn from them the contaminated gains with loathing and disgust."—*Ibid.* p. 133.

"The question has for some time been agitated of establishing a branch of the English Colonial Bank at the Havana. The English company to obtain a footing will probably be tempted to reduce the rate of interest; and the difference will be so much profit to the owner and dealer in slaves. Nay, as the names of members of the British House of Commons are to be found on the list of the directors of the Colonial Bank, it is to be feared that a parliamentary interest will be created in favour of this infamous traffic, since the wealthy slave-traders of the Havana will become the most valuable customers of that branch of the new banking establishment."—*Ibid.* p. 101, 102.

It is impossible, we think, to peruse these statements without deep humiliation and affliction. It is then British capital which still supports the slave-trade! It is British merchants who have the profits of it! It is English gentlemen and ladies who, by taking shares in certain banking and mining companies, practically deal in slaves, and are "among the most efficient supporters of the slave-trade!"

It is not, however, that all the parties whom we have thus, from a painful necessity, classed together, are open to equal or indiscriminate censure. The many hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of persons who have become shareholders in the joint-stock companies, are, no doubt, not only most respectable, but decidedly hostile to slavery and the slave-trade. In taking shares they never anticipated becoming implicated in either of these enormities; and if the question had ever come before them as shareholders, they would have given their vote in favour of humanity and freedom. All this we readily admit. But, we must press these estimable persons to consider that the money they have embarked in these concerns is actually employed by directors, who act in their name and with their authority, in carrying on works by slave-labour, or in loans to facilitate the slave-trade; and that, in the shape of yearly or half-yearly dividend, they are receiving the profits of this employment of their capital. We ask them whether this is not the same thing morally as though they did it themselves; and whether they do not stand in the judgment of their consciences as slaveholders and slave-traders! What they would not do by themselves, no honourable persons will consent to do by the instrumentality of others. There is nothing in the machinery of a joint-stock company which severs its operations from the proprietary body, or releases individual proprietors each from his share of responsibility and blame. Every

proprietor may make his and her voice heard in the management of such a company, and we have no doubt, but a general expression of the sentiments of proprietors on the subject now before us would be of great advantage; but if it were not so, the attempt having been made, it surely becomes the duty of every proprietor to relinquish his interest in a concern, rather than become a party to criminal proceedings, or a partaker of iniquitous gains. We are sure that, upon consideration, such a step would commend itself to many. We are acquainted with one person who, on discovering the fact that the colonial bank has begun to share in the profits of the slave-trade, (this concern has for some time had a branch at Porto Rico,) immediately disposed of his entire interest in it; and there are others we could name, some of high standing in the direction—from whom a similar course may be expected as highly consistent and becoming. This entire matter calls for immediate and searching consideration, and we shall shortly return to it.

The Glasgow Emancipation Society, we understand, has named twelve gentlemen to represent Glasgow in the conference: with power to its committee, to add as many to the number as they may deem proper or expedient; and they are about to issue a circular to the friends of the anti-slavery cause in the west of Scotland, recommending them to appoint representatives to the conference without delay.

The Congregational Union for Scotland, at its meeting in Dundee last week, appointed the Rev. William Lindsay Alexander, of Edinburgh, and the Rev. Thomas Pullar, and John A. Fullarton, Esq., of Glasgow, as their delegates to the Convention in London; and we think it highly probable the Relief Synod and the Secession Synod, will also send delegates to the same interesting assembly.

Advertisement.

PERSECUTION IN JAMAICA.

THE attention of the Friends of Religion, Justice, and Freedom, is earnestly solicited to certain iniquitous proceedings which have recently taken place in Jamaica, which, if not promptly and vigorously met, threaten not only the ruin of those against whom they have been directed, but the destruction of that liberty which has been purchased for the Negro at so costly a sacrifice.

At the Assizes for the county of Cornwall, held at Montego Bay in July last, various actions were brought, under different pretexts, against several well-known friends of the labouring classes in that Island. Amongst the victims of these proceedings were a Clergyman of the Church of England, a Missionary belonging to the Baptist Society, and some of the magistrates specially appointed for the protection of the emancipated population, in each of which cases the jurors decided against the party accused, and in most of them with enormous damages, under circumstances which can leave no doubt that the design is to ruin those whose hatred of oppression has rendered them obnoxious to the enemies of freedom.

At the same Assizes, a criminal information, filed by order of the Court against the Editor of a local newspaper for grossly defaming a Baptist minister, was tried, and the jury, without the formality of retiring to consider their verdict, immediately acquitted the defendant, contrary to the express direction of the Chief Justice, and the plaintiff was left with his injuries unredressed, and a heavy amount of legal expenses to pay.

These violent and reckless proceedings appear to have produced a greater excitement than has been known in the island since the insurrection in 1832.

The Negroes behave with admirable moderation, but they feel most deeply at the prospect of their best friends and protectors, of whom it was once sought to deprive them by brute force, now falling victims to the more specious, but not less effectual weapons of oppression, in the form of legal proceedings.

The juries on these occasions were almost wholly composed of persons belonging to a class who have uniformly and bitterly opposed the abolition of slavery, and the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, and there is no hope whatever of obtaining justice for the parties against whom these verdicts have been given, but by an appeal to the Court of Error in the Island, and, if requisite, to the ultimate tribunal in this country, which will involve heavy legal expenses in addition to those already incurred.

To meet these expenses, an earnest appeal is now made to the liberality of the British public.

The following gentlemen have been appointed a Committee, with power to add to their number, to lay the particulars of these atrocious proceedings fully before the public, to promote subscriptions for the purposes contemplated, and for similar cases of oppression, and to superintend the appropriation of the funds collected.

COMMITTEE.

SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq. Treasurer.

Charles Lushington, Esq. M.P.	Rev. Thomas Scates, Leeds.
T. F. Buxton, Esq.	William Chapman, Esq. Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
William Allen, Esq.	Isaac Bass, Brighton.
Rev. John Dyer.	J. B. Pease, Esq. Darlington.
George Stacey, Esq.	R. D. Alexander, Esq. Ipswich.
G. W. Alexander, Esq.	Wm. D. Crewdson, Esq. Kendal.
Rev. I. J. Freeman.	W. T. Blair, Esq. Bath.
Robert Forster, Esq.	Wm. Wilson, Esq. Nottingham.
W. B. Gurney, Esq.	John Cropper, Esq. Liverpool.
Joseph Cooper, Esq.	Rev. John Birt, Manchester.
John Scoble, Esq.	G. H. Head, Esq. Carlisle.
Jacob Post, Esq.	Joseph Eaton, Esq. Bristol.
Rev. J. Woodwark.	Richard Rathbone, Esq. Liverpool.
Thomas Clarkson, Esq. Playford Hall, near Ipswich.	J. Marriage, jun. Esq. Chelmsford.
Joseph Sturge, Esq. Birmingham	Henry Sparkes, Esq. Exeter.
J. T. Price, Esq. Neath.	Jon. Backhouse, Esq. Darlington.
James Whitehouse, Esq. Bristol.	

Amount already advertised 1466 10 0

27, New Broad Street.

BRITISH GUIANA.—The real prosperity of this colony may be judged of by the following document, extracted from the latest parliamentary papers.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR LIGHT TO LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

Governor's Residence, Demerara, 12th November, 1839.

My lord—I have the honour of transmitting to your lordship a return of stores for the sale of merchandize, erected in the rural districts of this province since the 1st of August, 1838; also, the number of new cottages erected on land purchased by the labourers since emancipation.

The return of stores erected does not include the estates' stores, where provisions and articles of daily use and want are to be obtained.

I have thought it right to give your lordship this species of information, because the district storehouses must naturally diminish the sale of objects that were formerly only to be obtained in the towns of Georgetown and New Amsterdam; and though the merchants of the towns are generally parties connected with those in the country, yet, finding fewer customers than formerly, some of them are disposed to complain.

Many of the labourers who have purchased the land on which they have erected cottages do not abandon field-labour; they pay at the rate of £15. an acre, and £3. sterling for the expense of title; the expense of a cottage from £40. to £50. With such data your lordship may judge of the prosperity of the province, unconnected with exports or imports.

I have the honour to be, my lord,

Your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

HENRY LIGHT.

(signed)

BRITISH GUIANA.

A RETURN showing—1st, The number of new stores, for the sale of dry goods, provisions, liquors, and merchandize in general. 2nd, The number of free settlers' cottages, (almost exclusively from the emancipated class) erected and established in the rural districts since the 1st August, 1838.

Districts.	Counties.	District Stipendiary Magistrates.	No. of stores	No. of cottages.	Remarks.
A.	Demerara.	C. H. Strutt	3	8	The village of Mahai-ca and the hamlet Mahaicany are rapidly increasing, and some settlements are springing up near Abary.
B.	.....	A. M. Lyons	4	14	In this district but little disposition to wander has been exhibited. The labourers industrious and well-behaved.
C.	.....	J. W. Brittain	2	6	Many plots of land have been purchased by labourers, and preparations for building cottages are in progress.
D.	.....	T. Coleman.....	7	64	Most of the saleable land in this district is high up the river.
E.	.....	J. O. L. Mure....	4	..	.....
F.	Essequibo	D. MacLennan....	10	6	This district is composed of the islands Leguan and Wake-naam. Fredericksburgh is greatly increasing.
G.	.....	G. Ball.....	11	27	Free settlers can have a fine choice of convenient plots of good land in this district.
H.	.....	W. H. Ware	3	8	Free settlers can have a fine choice of capital land, but remotely situated.
I.	Berbice	G. Rose	2	57	In this district abandoned lands to a considerable extent have been purchased by the labourers.
K.	.....	J. Macleod	8	..	In this district but little land is out of cultivation, and scarcely any for sale.
L.	.....	A. Van R. de Groot	12	73	In this district there is a good deal of waste land, and many acres have been bought in small plots.
M.	.....	J. A. Allen	8	4	In this district the disposition to build has not been very manifest, though a abundance of waste land.
Town.	Demerara	George Ross ....	..	..	Georgetown district. Buildings being erected in all directions.
			74	267	

W. B. WOLSELEY, Circuit Stipendiary Magistrate.

November, 1839.

Printed by WILLIAM JOHNSTON, and RICHARD BARRETT, of 13, Mark Lane, in the Parish of All Hallows Staining, and City of London; and Published by LANCLOT WILD, of 13, Catherine Street, Strand, in the Parish of St. Mary-le-Strand, and City of Westminster, at 13, Catherine Street, Strand, aforesaid.—May 6th, 1840.